# THE COMMONWEAL

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# WAGES AS INVESTMENTS

THE PRESENT economic depression is different from all previous depressions in that for the first time there are proposals for economic planning on a vast scale to stabilize business operations and prevent recurring cycles of unemployment and consequent human distress. Particularly striking is the fact that many of these plans come from the ranks of big business. Not that business men have turned into radicals in their proposals which a few years back would have been denounced as Socialistic, but rather that business men recognize the need for stabilization to sustain purchasing power and to keep the wheels of industry and commerce moving.

Formerly the patent remedy applied by employers in all depressions was to cut wages and thus reduce costs. Many know and use no other remedy even today. But there is at this time a widespread understanding among industrial leaders of the fallacy of cutting wages and thereby reducing consuming power at the very time when the prime need is for buyers with money in their hands. It has become clear that the consumers who keep the wheels going are the masses of workers whose combined wages make up the great source of consumer demand. How to keep that fund intact has come to be the center of economic planning together with the correlative that the income must be safeguarded to give confidence in order to promote spending and prevent hoarding.

In a volume just off the press under the interesting title, "Investing in Wages" (New York: The Macmillan Company), Mr. Albert L. Deane, an executive of large business experience, aided by Mr. Henry Kittredge Norton, who assumed the task of "tracing in the economic background," has presented a plan—a most comprehensive one—to assure "work to everyone who wants it, and, by sustaining the national production at the highest profitable level, to eliminate the lean years which have periodically plagued our national life." A large order to fill, it may be said, but what else will meet the situation? A plan must be big and comprehensive for so vast a problem as that confronting us, if any good is to come from economic planning. Mere piecemeal palliatives suit some so-called practical men but, after all, of what ultimate good are they?

The plan under review starts with the proposition that prosperity depends upon sustained purchasing power in the hands of the workers whose wages the book calculates at two-thirds the income of the coun-


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try. When this purchasing power is decreased greatly, production is thrown out of balance, labor loses its income and production is further unbalanced—a vicious circle. Business thus out of balance heads toward catastrophe, a sequence fatalistically accepted in the past. After the catastrophe has run its course, a balance on a new plane is restored and the economic order moves on to a new ordeal. The Deane plan aims to maintain the balance automatically. "It is imperative," say the authors, "that we find a means of preventing a collapse of buying power. The expense of restoring the economic balance by catastrophe is mounting dangerously. As we come to understand the factors involved, the next task is to devise some plan which will automatically keep them in balance." Thus far there is nothing new, just a restatement of accepted economic truths which the present depression has pressed home.

The plan outlined in the book involves elements not heretofore suggested. In a brief summary the essentials are: "(1) The creation of a reserve of consuming power through general contribution. (2) The collection and prompt analysis of such industrial statistics as may be necessary for frequent tests of the equilibrium between production and consumption in each industry. (3) The use of governmental authority for the following purposes only: (a) To enforce an equitable distribution of the contributions to the reserve funds. . . . (b) To enforce the regular submission and dissemination of required statistics. . . . (c) To fix certain 'normals' as points of reference. . . . (4) The automatic use of the reserve fund to support the consuming power of the workers in any industry which indicates overproduction, until the balance is restored in that industry."

The heart of the plan is that the available work shall be distributed among the available workers in each industry, and when the number of hours of work for each worker falls below a fixed minimum norm, the reserve fund created by an assessment on the entire payroll shall be called upon to make up a large part of the deficiency. Plainly it would not promote prosperity merely to distribute the available work; the total income of all of the workers would be the same. The plan introduces the unique idea of providing a reserve fund to keep all workers up to the minimum norm, instead of discharging some workers and paying them from the reserve fund while they are out of work, as provided in plans for unemployment insurance. The reserve fund is for those who are partially out of work, it being assumed that no regular workers would be wholly out of work, once the plan is in successful operation.

The organization of the plan is on a national scale. It is compulsory because "its adoption must be nation-wide and could not be left to mutual agreement, without legislative sanction providing the required uniformity." Legislation to put it into effect would be both national and state. Briefly there would be set up by act of Congress an institution to be known as the National Employment Reserve Board, whose primary purpose would be to stabilize purchasing power. The board would be made up non-politically.

Two important duties would devolve upon the national board: first, the determination of the normal hours of work per week as a guide for determining the stabilization wage; and second, to make recommendations to the states based on the measurement of needs so as to fix the levy upon the payrolls to meet the stabilization wage. These determinations would be altered from time to time to meet changing conditions in production and to prevent too great or too small an accumulation of money in the reserve fund.

There would also be created under uniform laws, State Employment Reserve Boards to be affiliated with the national board and to have direct administration of the plan in the states, including the collation of employment statistics showing labor needs and resources by industries, the collection of the state reserve fund, and functioning as a clearing-house for employment information to employment officers and individuals. The national board would have general supervision and would act for employment much as the Federal Reserve Board acts for banking. All employers would come under the act and pay a predetermined percentage of their payroll into the reserve fund (the plan tentatively suggests 1 percent). Employers would be required to distribute their work from week to week among their employees, properly proportioned to the total available workers in that industry.

And then the central idea: "Whenever the manufacturer's available hours of labor per worker during any week should fall below a predetermined weekly 'normal,' the manufacturer would supplement the basic compensation of each employee by paying him, in addition to his regular hourly wage for the hours actually at work, an additional amount equal to 50 percent of his regular hourly wage for each hour of the 'normal' week that he did not work. The employer would be reimbursed immediately for the payment of such additional amount . . . by drawing on the State Employment Reserve Board for the amount so expended."

Obviously the plan would require the working out of a great amount of detail. The authors have not overlooked that. They have not attempted to set down every item but have been content to point out the general plan with an invitation to the public to help fill in the outline. They have estimated many of the possible objections and have supplied a discussion of many of the most obvious ones. To the objection that it puts the government into business the reply is made: "It simply utilizes the machinery of government for the purposes for which constitutional government exists. Any plan which relies on voluntary action is practically impossible of achievement today. Yet, only by securing uniformity can the restrictive competitive factors be removed and the way opened to the initiation of remedial action." To the objection that there is no plan to limit production, answer is made that employers

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do not knowingly overproduce. The accurate data of production and consumption needs, supplied by State and National Employment Reserve Boards, is assumed to be sufficient to keep production at normal.

Other objections such as that cash wages do not reflect purchasing power in periods of fluctuation of credits, that wages must go down with the cost of commodities, that the contributions to reserve funds would be a further burden on industry, that depression is world-wide and beyond our control, and that no plan will overcome natural economic forces, are discussed briefly.

The difficulty of getting the states to adopt the plan in coöperation with Congress is considered by the authors. Anyone acquainted with the problems of getting uniform action by the states will probably note this as one of the chief hurdles of the plan. To encourage prompt legislative action, a national subsidy to the states coming under the plan is proposed to be used on public works and to be provided by a special manufacturer's tax which, however, could be deducted to an amount equivalent to payments to the State Employment Reserve Board.

The advantages claimed for the plan include: assurance of work and income; substitution of a reserve for unemployment insurance as currently planned; maintenance of purchasing power; prevention of overproduction by giving dependable indices of needs; prevention of undue governmental interference though going far in using governmental powers; and elimination of technological unemployment. These alleged benefits are debatable, and the authors very frankly have invited suggestions.

## WEEK BY WEEK

NO DOUBT of it. A great man has been lost to the world with the death of Aristide Briand—possibly the greatest man, from the political point of view, in recent history. His career is representative chiefly by reason of his ability to move just a little in advance of the European opinion he habitually voiced, the thought and sentiment of the average citizen, the workers and the poor. This he managed so well because of his astute genius, and also because he happened to be an idealist. Before the war he was a Socialist despite a firm inlay of nationalism. Having settled the great railroad strike of 1910 by calling 30,000 workers to the colors, he served as Premier under Poincaré in days when all the Cabinets of Europe were preparing feverishly for the coming war. During the great conflict he emerged as the veritable symbol of *union sacrée,* as the Coalition Cabinet was called. Ousted from power in 1917, he reappeared again in 1921 as the apostle of reconstruction and pacification. Throughout the era of the Dawes Plan he was Stresemann's co-worker in the effort to conciliate France and Germany. Locarno was, perhaps, the greatest moment in his life. After the Young Plan had come, and Stresemann had died, he sponsored the idea of Pan-European union. Events conspired, however, to tear asunder plans he had carefully woven together; and to save himself against nationalistic attacks at home, he momentarily became a chauvinist. Even this did not suffice. An ill-advised campaign for the Presidency ended in disaster, and soon there was no room in the inn for Briand the Foreign Minister. Not Aristide the old man but Aristide the thinker had been beaten.

Aristide Briand

QUITE similar is the narrative of his relations with the Church. As one of those who advocated separation of Church and State in France during the early 1900's, Briand was looked upon for years as a foe of religion. Nevertheless he became the conciliationist in the Clemenceau Cabinet of 1906, thus drawing upon himself the ire of both parties. Then, during the war, he appeared as the prophet of group coöperation in the interests of the republic. Afterward it was clear that the Papacy, devoted to the cause of peace among Christian peoples, had its strongest ally in Briand. Though his suggestions probably had little to do with the adoption of the pro-republic policy of the Vatican after 1925, a policy which in a measure included the repudiation of Action Française, there can be no doubt that the French Foreign Minister had enthusiastic friends in Rome. When the moment of storm and stress came, it was Pope Pius who, in several encyclicals and addresses, expressed the genuinely tragic significance of the new-born nationalistic fervor in various parts of Europe. Unquestionably every blow delivered at the aims of Briand was also an attack upon the dearest wish of the Holy See. Thus had a man whose political life was begun in the name of anti-clericalism come round to a position where, hand in hand with the Church, he expressed the hope of the distressed and the endangered throughout the Western world.

AN INTERESTING commentary on these troubled days is afforded by the sensational behavior of the pound sterling, which rose $.20 in a single day when speculators concluded that Britain's ability to repay three-fourths of the pegging credit obtained from New York last summer presaged a return to normal. The relative value of other currencies fell, English money went up as news of successful budgetary measures and of a decrease in unemployment was interpreted optimistically. Curiously enough it was British pressure which struggled to keep the buoyant pound down. The government argues that balancing the budget will be impossible if exchange returns to the standard rate of $4.86; industrialists and financiers alike are afraid that the instability of the medium of exchange will hamper business expansion. Of course the banks are expected to wield

John Bull's Money

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dexterously the formidable weapon of discount and deposit rates. It all goes to show once again the superlative importance of money under modern commercial conditions. While one is not ready to endorse views which attribute the whole welfare of our economic structure to an underlying monetary structure, it is obvious that this structure exists and that very much built on top of it shifts as it does.

Temperance Control

WHILE crime is an ever-mounting factor in American life, due largely we believe to our prohibition system, which turns the entire profits of the liquor industry over to outlaws and thereby in fact gives a sheltered economic position to this industry beyond that enjoyed by any other, we may well reflect on the experiences of other countries which have sought to promote temperance rather than prohibition. In this regard Dr. Ivan Bratt's recent report to the American Club of Paris on the efficacy of the system in Sweden which bears his name is interesting. There under government control of liquor sales, the consumption of distilled spirits has decreased 50 percent since 1912, hospitalized cases of alcoholism have decreased 71 percent and crimes of violence attributed to drunkenness have decreased 66 percent. Besides these real social accomplishments, there are enormous savings to the citizens through making liquor pay for the government expense involved in supervising its control, instead of making the innocent taxpayer shoulder the staggering cost, as is done in this country, for the prohibition bureau, the legal machinery of prosecution in liquor cases, and the police and coast-guard efforts in this direction. In Sweden, besides benefiting from a revenue-producing license system, the government controls the liquor companies, which are privately financed, and profits in excess of 5 percent revert to the nation. Dr. Bratt gives three reasons for prohibition's failure: first, alcohol is easy to make; second, it is easy to make money selling alcohol; and third, it is difficult to convince people that it is morally wrong to drink alcohol in moderation.

The Meiklejohn Plan

SINCE the University of Wisconsin, five years ago, entrusted a number of freshmen to Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn for a special educational experiment, interest in its progress has been lively and sustained. However, reports have varied; and those who may have feared that this effort of one of our most unusual and stimulating educators would be marked down as mistaken or abortive, will welcome the report he has just issued. It bears the imprimatur of the faculty who have been working with him, and summarizes, in the form of a blue-print for the future, both immediate and remote, their various discoveries in the field of liberal education. Briefly, they strongly endorse the small, self-contained college, of which the Wisconsin Experimental College acts as a working sample, as the future unit of the American university system. Perhaps a score of really independent bodies, each with its own faculty, are advocated to replace the typical large, centralized organization of the present.

THE MEMBERS of these autonomous faculty groups are envisaged as something more than experts: they are expected to work out a harmonious integration of subjects, so that the result, reflected in what their students receive, shall be an ordered and organic whole, really worthy of the term, "liberal education." "Fundamentally," to quote Dr. Meiklejohn, whose project thus far embraces only the freshman and sophomore years, "the course shall be the study of a single topic, and every separate subject within it shall be recognized as a special phase of the central inquiry." It is good, of course, to encounter, even on paper, so positive a reversal of the present practice of ranging witlessly among unrelated subjects; but it is fair, too, to voice the obvious caution against introducing a new brand of specialization under the guise of "liberal education." Time alone can work out a proper balance. Meanwhile, the small, responsible academic group, with its own objects and esprit de corps, presents such attractive possibilities as a variant of the overlarge, overmechanical university, that we hope Wisconsin will see its way clear to underwriting Dr. Meiklejohn's immediate plan for three more experimental colleges to try it out. This expression of good-will, of course, implies no comment on Dr. Meiklejohn's personal and peculiar ideas regarding religious education.

Bishop Shahan

NEWS that Bishop Thomas Joseph Shahan died rather suddenly in Washington on March 9 has occasioned profound and widespread sorrow. Few prelates have been so representative, so genuinely endowed with leadership and so unalterably human. His name is, of course, written into the very heart of the Catholic University, which he served for more than forty years as professor and rector; but he had numerous other interests and spurs to his highly spiritualized ambition—the Catholic Encyclopedia (of which he was a founder and editor), historical and educational research, the projected national Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, and social welfare endeavor. Born in New Hampshire during 1857, Bishop Shahan very soon began to display omnivorous intellectual curiosity. He sought learning in the universities and seminaries of Canada, Germany, France, Italy and the United States; and one proof of the fact that this curiosity never died was his remarkable ability, even under adverse conditions, to gather valuable libraries and to help promising students. The bishop was, needless to remark, an unflinching and uncompromising Catholic, dedicated forever to a priesthood the ideals of which he had set high. He was also intensely catholic—interested in new and old acquaintances, endeavors, ventures. It will seem strange not

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to see him, to hear from him. In a way he had acquired a kind of earthly immortality, which makes his death seem incredible but yet not strange.

Two Kinds of Childishness

WE HAVE spoken before of the low level of taste and decency reached by some of the feature films employing animals. The antics of tortured dogs and bedizened monkeys in the self-styled "comedies" which too often disfigure the screen seem, moreover, as offensive on the score of their effect on the spectators as on the score of their inhumanity to the animals. And we can only conclude, from current productions, that the typical audience's delighted reception of these delicacies has stimulated the producers' inventiveness still further. It has been discovered, for instance, that a certain fish, taken out of water, moves its mouth in strangulation precisely as if it were chewing. Hence a little comedy has been arranged, wherein a man, tossing tidbits to a shoal of these fish, lifts one after another of them into the air (to the accompaniment of a patter rebuking their greediness) and "feeds" them crackers. The crackers crumble, of course, under the automatic palpitation of the laboring mouth muscles; while the spectators crow happily at this dramatization of the gluttony of fish. Equally successful has been the discovery of the pelican. You can put a great many things into the pelican's pouch, you see—money, paper, ticker tape, silk bloomers; then you can pretend that the pelican has told you he isn't feeling well, and under the camera's eye, you can take the money, paper, ticker tape and silk bloomers out of his pouch, and say "No wonder!" The rapture of the audience is guaranteed. There are different kinds of childishness. The reversion to childish humility and trust is necessary to salvation. The reversion to childish crudity and cruelty, to the eldritch literalness of the uncompounded childish mind, can only be called half-witted.

Coaches and Character

WHEN Professor William L. Hughes, of Teachers' College, Columbia, stated, at a recent college conference on physical education, that any character-training resulting from school and college athletics was perhaps "accidental or incidental," he was saying something recognizably true of the present. Our athletes play to win, not to develop the nuances of generous politeness toward their opponents, or to learn to bear up gracefully under defeat. It is true that they are often instructed to keep their morale in apparent defeat, but this is rather because it will enable them to turn possible defeat to victory, than because it is felt to be intrinsically disgraceful to go to pieces. If a boy is a sportsman before going into training, he may emerge a sportsman at the end of it; but the highly specialized thing that that training has had to become, in the fantasia of athletic rivalry, and under the brisk competitive bidding for coaches, has very little to do with making him a sportsman. We are not carping; as we have said before, we feel that the American "play-to-win" spirit is due much more to the crackling American nerves than to anything ungentlemanly in the American character. But it is useful to remind ourselves that the mightiest of fullbacks, the most astute of quarterback-generals, is not necessarily the flower of our civilization. If we seize the fact clearly, we may even begin to work from it to the point where our academic athletics, little by little, will slow up and take on a certain amplitude of purpose, a certain humanity; where, in Professor Hughes's words, the athletic coach has joined "all the social agencies of the school in a unified character-building enterprise."

## ENTER THE ASSESSOR

USHERING in a new tax bill, the House Committee has enunciated the government's most definite farewell to the easy decade. Basically, the object is to offset an impending deficit of $1,241,000,000, less than a tenth of which can be disposed of through economies. What the bill means can be seen at a glance if one considers that the estimated total income of the citizens of the United States was $70,000,000,000 in 1930, of which $14,000,000,000 were expended for federal, local and state government. If we now reckon the drop in total income during the coming fiscal year at 10 percent (a very conservative estimate), and concede that other taxes will increase proportionately, it follows that the total cost of government will approximate nearly 30 percent of the national income.

That is pretty stiff. Of course the burden placed on the American taxpayer does not come anywhere near equaling the load carried abroad. By comparison with the *Notverordnungen* decreed by the Bruening government, the forecast for this country is almost equivalent to a prediction of mild and balmy weather. As citizens, therefore, we have little reason to complain that the existing economic crisis has showered us with unusually sharp and heavy stones. Yet there is no denying that the assessor has become a very ominous figure. It is estimated that one Middle Western state has taken over at least a million acres of land because of unpaid taxes. In virtually every community—and in some districts this means a great deal more than the sober generalization indicates—houses and lots have been abandoned to the collector even by people who had paid very considerable sums down on the property. Who can doubt that the market for real estate is headed for the bottom of the class as long as this condition obtains? Nor are other forms of levying money without their terror for the poor and the unemployed, in so far as these last are existing on modest savings and incomes.

The present situation cannot be helped. To some extent it is attributable to a "business fluctuation" regarding which many theories but few axioms exist.

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Again it may be blamed on bad economic engineering, which allowed a decade of prosperity to flit past without taking reserves for the future out of the greatly expanding investment total and made no real effort to solve puzzles which, like that of war indebtedness, were bound to jolt the world into tantrums once the day for facts had come. Our purpose is not to debate such matters here. We are concerned rather with the theory and practice of taxation, first as these affect the general social order and second in so far as they are manifest in the new tax bill.

Tawney defines the method of distribution of wealth through taxation as being "not the division of the nation's income into fragments to be distributed, without further ado, like cake at a school picnic," but as "the pooling of the nation's resources by means of taxation and the use of the funds thus obtained to make accessible to all, irrespective of their income, occupation or social position, the condition of civilization which, in the absence of such measures, would be enjoyed only by the rich." Some such view is at the bottom of all tax levies. Though in the United States the average citizen hardly makes use of socialized opportunities to the same extent as does his fellow human being in Europe, we have none the less steadily drifted from the simple functions of protection constitutionally entrusted to the government toward a far-flung use of "welfare agencies" which now include, in some measure, virtually all the business of society. From baby clinics to research in the theory of money, statesmanship has been endowed by the taxpayer.

Speaking at a Joint Session of the General Assembly of Kentucky, Mr. Melvin A. Traylor, Chicago banker, summarized this drift in terms of concrete millions of dollars and went on to say that the fundamental problem is "the fact that government expenditures have been increased to a point where the burden has brought disaster to thousands of taxpayers in every part of the country." While the amounts required have grown and the number of public employees increased, the gruesome total of bankrupt individuals, villages and cities has mounted continually, not merely since 1930 but even since 1927! Mr. Traylor does not blame anybody for this condition, which he traces to "public demand" for things which cost money. But he points out the negligence of officials who instead of educating the citizenry have encouraged prodigal spending, and insists very rightly upon the need for a systematic revision of our whole theory of taxation. This must, we think, remain precisely where Tawney's definition puts it. When it becomes not a pooling but a waste of the nation's resources, the good that might result from it is squandered.

Now the major fault to be found with the pending federal legislation is failure to establish any sounder principles than those now obtaining. Rushed by the necessities of the hour, Congress has merely devised a system for getting the required money. This would not be objectionable, under the circumstances, were one given any assurance that the needed spade work would be done soon. As things are, the provisions of the projected law are in all sad truth likely to be accepted as precedents binding at least while the present trouble lasts. This tax bill is chiefly a compound of three means: the general sales tax, increased income taxes and an import tax on gasoline. Regarding the second, we agree with Mr. Traylor: "To my mind, if properly drawn and fairly safeguarded, it is the most just of all methods of taxation." He does not think that the "ifs" are at present sufficiently respected. And there is something to be said in his favor. When, for instance, exemptions render income taxation chiefly an affair of the "higher brackets," it becomes perilously likely that great wealth is forced out of the domain of risk—which, for the good of all, is rightly its territory—and into the realm of tax-exempt securities. At the same time all consciousness of "pooling resources" for social purposes dwindles while the number of parasites increases. The best way to guarantee eternal vigilance is to make citizens pay for not exercising it.

The general sales tax, as incorporated in the present bill, is a very dubious affair regarding which there will be quite a little fuss. In all probability the Senate will not swallow this medicine without a wry face. The effect of such a tax—even when foodstuffs have been virtually stricken from the list—is to fasten the cost of government on every man, woman and child. Though the amount the poor actually pay on articles they purchase may be small, the percentage of their income paid out is larger than the percentage of wealthy incomes spent in the same manner. Under ordinary circumstances, the educative value of such a levy might be worth considering. But now its effect upon small purses, and beyond that on the market for goods, may be decidedly bad. Unfortunately there is no sure way of telling in advance.

In so far as the import tax on gasoline is concerned, we are dealing with a pure political grab. On account of transportation costs to the Atlantic seaboard from the Western fields, oil from foreign sources can be sold much cheaper in such states as New York than can the domestic product. Enter, therefore, representatives of the producing states to declare that they will fight any tax measure which does not favor them. Immediately Congress lies prone, and one cent on every gallon of imported oil is forthwith levied. This concession is a very bad ruse. If ever there were reasons why such measures should not be resorted to, that time is the present. Wherewith it becomes our pleasant duty to quote Mr. Traylor again: "It is particularly unfortunate that in any consideration of governmental expenditures and revenues, we are obliged to contend not only with the weaknesses of human nature but with the selfishness of the political element as well." If, as he supposes, the appearance of "non-partizan continuing bodies" pledged to consider such matters "scientifically" will do any good, we are—as the phrase has it—strong for them.

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# ORGANIZED LABOR: AN INDICTMENT

By GERHARD HIRSCHFELD

*One result of the economic disturbance has been a fresh scrutiny of the nature and value of federated labor in America. The author of the following paper is an economist who thinks that the facts in the record constitute an indictment of those who, in the wake of Samuel Gompers, have tried to organize workingmen in the United States. Next week there will follow a reply to this indictment by Mr. John P. Frey, whose status as a labor leader is well and favorably known. Our readers cannot afford to ignore either side, and so we recommend a comparison of the two papers.—The Editors.*

IT WAS Samuel Gompers who, for the American Federation of Labor, set the goal "to make labor a contented and prosperous partner of business in the American system of acquisition and enjoyment." It was Samuel Gompers, again, who held that the guiding principle of unionism was "to secure a better life for all." And it was his successor to the presidency of the federation, Mr. William Green, who freely talked and generously wrote for an "industrial democracy."

The leaders of the A. F. of L. have consistently pointed to the high standard of living and the increased buying power of which American workmen (not the limited number of organized and skilled workmen, but the great mass of manual labor in this country) have been beneficiaries under the strong wings of the federation. This seems worth analyzing.

The total wages paid out in 1899 amounted to $2,008,361,100; let us give this the index figure of 100. In 1928 (we want to ignore the years of depression) this sum had increased to $10,310,314,450, which would give us an index of 513.4. And we say that the wages of the American workman have, within three decades, increased more than five times.

Now it is obvious that a workman who earns $1,000 a year, spends his wages in a very different way from his more fortunate fellow worker who makes $2,000. In other words, to get a fair idea of the benefits accruing from wage increases for the average workingman, it is necessary to reduce the average income to a common denominator. This we do by dividing the total amount of wages by the total number of wage earners, which results in an index figure of 307.5 in 1928 for the wage increase per worker as against 100 in 1899. If we further divide this by the statistical index figure which determines the changes in cost of living, we obtain for 1899 the index of 100 and for 1928 that of 123.6. This is the rise in real wages; but, alas, the story does not end there.

To know exactly where our 1928 workman stands in wages, as compared with his colleague at the end of the past century, we have to consider production and prices. Only if we measure wages on these two factors, can we hope to arrive at the buying power of the workman.

The physical volume of production, taking 1899 once more as the nominal 100, rose in 1928 to 283.3; this is measured on the actual quantity of goods produced. As we did with the wages, we have to consider the number of people for whom these goods were produced, namely the inhabitants of the United States. The modified index is now 176.6 for 1928. And now we divide this production index-per-capita into the above real wages, and we arrive at 100 again for 1899 and for 1928 at 70 ("Der Fabrik Arbeiter in der amerikanischen Wirtschaft," by Juergen and Marguerite Kuczynski).

In other words, the buying power of the American workman has not risen in proportion to the production increase; it lags fearfully behind, and the American worker, speaking of the great mass of manual labor, is relatively impoverished. If, in spite of this decline in buying power, the farm hand and the mill and the mine worker enjoy today many pleasures of which little was known back in 1899, this has nothing to do with wages, and everything to do with the miracles that have been wrought by science and invention.

Before the crash that resounded throughout the world, the federation leaders enthusiastically joined in the chorus of praise over the unequaled prosperity. There are a number of instances on record which prove their failure to recognize the treacherous insecurity of an unparalleled credit inflation. Many others have failed in this respect. The count against the A. F. of L. is that, after the crash, it refused to acquire common sense and to see things in their true light. It kept the truth from American labor.

The federation has frequently protested the statement that the enthusiasm in its ranks is slackening. Its record embraces four different arguments: first, *before* the depression labor officials attributed the ebbing enthusiasm in labor ranks to the lulling effect of prosperity upon the common laborer, what with welfare institutions, bonus schemes and the like; second, *during* the depression, when membership and income are dropping (not to mention the enthusiasm), the desperate effect of the economic crisis is made responsible for it; third, in 1914, the federation was going strong, issuing complaints against the numerous ills which accompanied the industrial revolution; fourth, in 1930, it had its hands full handing out songs of praise glorifying the American workingman. Instead of one, the federation handled not less than four arguments. It is in such twists and turns that the lack of strategy and of outspoken leadership becomes cruelly obvious.

Accuracy, apparently, does not occupy a very high place in the federation's policies. Its membership list

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shows about 3,000,000 out of 4,000,000 workers that are organized at all in the United States. In this membership list, there are included the United Mine Workers with 400,000 members, though it is reliably reported that their actual membership is only about half that figure. The United Garment Workers are represented with approximately 47,000 members; the garment workers are probably more surprised at this figure than the average workingman, because they never had any such crowded membership list.

The preamble of the federation's constitution, as handed down from the '80s, reads as follows:

> A struggle is going on in all nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

The attempted realization by the federation of the ambitious program shows the following record: it has created jobs for 10 percent of the wage earners of the United States. It has done more: it has obtained high wages for this portion, which constitutes mostly skilled labor. Of the remaining 90 percent the great majority were left to their own resources in finding jobs and improving their income, while only a small fraction, organized in other unions, kept abreast of the federation's advances in employment and wages. The wages for all, as we have seen, have failed to keep pace with production by a flat 30 percent, which is the federation's contribution to "the steady rise of income for the working population of the United States."

The A. F. of L. has not stopped with this generous gesture toward the laboring masses. Some of its leaders have earnestly tried to decrease the cost of living. The most noteworthy attempt in this direction is the unselfishness with which they have helped to pass the protective tariff bill through Congress, a tariff bill of which Representative John N. Garner of Texas said (New York *Times,* June 1, 1930):

> When he [the average American workingman] arises in the morning, he shaves himself with a razor carrying a 117 percent tariff tax, using soap that has a rate of 30 percent. He dons his underwear which, if cotton, is taxed 45 percent. . . . The morning buckwheat in the cakes is taxed 14 percent. He spreads them with butter which carries a tariff rate of 38.84 percent and gives them a liberal application of maple syrup, taxed 41.28. The bacon is taxed 9.16 percent and the sugar two cents. . . . When the noon whistle blows, the workingman seizes his dinner pail and proceeds to regale himself with roast beef, taxed 25.73 percent, a couple of boiled eggs, 34.44 percent, cold potatoes, taxed 52 percent, and finishes with a bottle of milk, which carries a 37 percent tariff rate. . . .

The A. F. of L. has, officially, kept carefully away from the tariff topic. It has taken no definite stand in the matter and, indeed, begged the issue. However, this is the official aspect only; there is an unofficial side to it. In 1928 the American Wage Earners Protective League was organized under the patronage of Mr. Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L. and—it is generally admitted—its guiding genius. The league has about 250,000 members, practically all of whom are affiliated with the federation.

The league has been influential in the making of the latest protective tariff scheme which has not decreased but increased the cost of living for some 27,000,000 wage earners. Furthermore, the tariff law has not proved (as has been claimed by its advocates within the ranks of labor) that to a certain extent it could offset the effects of domestic slackening of industrial activity. If anything, the protective tariff has made the economic situation in the United States worse.

The federation is not representative of American labor; it does not work for the true interests of the American workingman. Its failure to do so has hit back, the federation is today in a state of decay. What are the factors responsible for its obsolescence?

From the end of the past century, the law was handed down from labor union to labor union that skill and craftmanship should be the foundation of labor organizations. Perhaps it was an unwritten law, but it was as strong a rule as can be found anywhere in history; its traces go back not only to the middle ages, but to ancient Greece and Rome and Carthage and Egypt—indeed, to the dawn of mankind. But Henry Ford from Detroit took the book of history into his hands, turned over a few pages and showed the world how to make out of a common laborer a skilled and expert workingman within the incredibly short span of fifteen or twenty minutes.

Since then, invention and the advance of scientific research and management have made deep inroads into the individual value of the workman. The common denominator is efficiency, with the inexorable pressure of a fixed production schedule in mines and plants and factories equalizing whatever human differences there may be within the ranks of labor.

Only a great leader with great foresight would have been able to shift the labor movement accordingly, to tear down the walls that separated union and non-union labor and to unite their forces so as to meet the new industrial demands jointly. The A. F. of L. missed its opportunity. It jealously guarded the privilege of "skilled labor," small as the demand for skilled labor is and smaller as it will be in the near future, with the machine more and more replacing human craftsmanship. It failed to recognize the equalizing effect of mechanization on human labor. It failed to reorganize labor on the basis of equalization.

The A. F. of L. is paying for this failure to keep abreast of the changed demands of industry. From 1919 to 1926, the federation lost members at the rate of 123,000 per year. During these years, the large corporations were not idle, but organized their own "labor unions" which, during the same period, showed

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gains averaging 125,000 members per year. It is likely that today "company unionism" involves as many workmen as are organized in all the labor unions, namely 4,000,000.

There are other factors which strikingly illuminate the process of decay within the federation. Great industries are springing up without collective bargaining. The major strikes of recent date have, with rare exceptions, ended in disastrous defeat. The tremendous mass of unemployed non-union labor is exerting great pressure upon the union men, and is coming, involuntarily, to the help of employers who have steadfastly opposed the organized labor movement.

Strikes today can be more easily defeated by large corporations than was possible ten years ago. If their workmen vote on a strike, the orders can be placed in a branch factory, if there happens to be one in the United States, in Canada or in one of the European countries. A modern corporation can wait months for its profits, because out of cash reserves, emergency pools and security funds can be paid interest, amortization and dividends. It can influence public opinion through press syndicates it may own; it can hire spies to work within the unions and it can, in numerous ways, break up the striking front, not to speak of injunctions which have become an increasingly strong weapon for anti-union activities.

Without going further into "destructive criticism" of the federation's attitude and activities, we might turn now to the more pleasant task of constructive suggestion. If we leave out of consideration for a moment the manifold obstacles that stand in the way of an organized labor movement in the United States, if we forget for a time the achievement and the failure of the A. F. of L., if we merely concentrate on fundamental economics, we are apt to see this picture: on one side those 10,000,000 who employ capital, which is sometimes their own, but more often not—the capitalists who, with their mines and mills, with factories and big finance, "supply" the demand; on the other side we find something like 50,000,000 salaried persons and wage earners who, with their families, constitute the bulk of "demand."

We know that the capitalists—or let us more precisely call them "entrepreneurs"—have gone far beyond the limit of supplied demand, that they have (for reasons that shall here remain undiscussed) driven production up to a level where it is miles above the existing demand. It has come to be generally recognized that the demand by the people is of considerably greater importance than the actual supply by the entrepreneurs. This demand rests on the 50,000,000 salaried and wage earners and on their dependents. To go one step further: the entrepreneurs would be able to develop the mining, the manufacturing, the financing, the transportation and the distribution end of their business, because production is organized. Demand is not. Production is controlled, analyzed, supervised; demand is not. We know down to the detail about the how, the where, the when and the why of productive enterprises. We do not know, aside from the crudest sort of estimates, implications and off-hand statements, about the forces, psychical and physical, that underlie the purchase of a perfume, a pair of gloves or a cigar. The mass of consumers are doing their shopping much as the wind blows the fall leaves around in street and garden, without direction, without control, without organization.

And yet, in spite of the contrast between a well-organized production scheme and a loose-running system of purchasing, it is admitted that upon the success of stimulating demand depends the recovery of commerce and industry. So, theoretically at least, those who buy the goods have the say as to whether the capitalists shall recover or not. Here, apparently, is a strange constellation: the capitalists are dependent upon the masses that buy. But these masses include some 27,000,000 workmen and their dependents. And these same 27,000,000 are constantly losing in their struggle with the capitalists, which many times is for the most fundamental human rights.

It is at this point that the A. F. of L. comes in. To reorganize labor would mean to play out the trump card of the American working class: its spending power. It would mean to build consumer coöperatives in the cities, the towns and the villages of the United States, under the patronage of labor unions. Here the working people could buy as cheaply as nowhere else, first, because the coöperatives' purchasing would be backed by the needs of millions of families; second, because the coöperatives are not a profit-making institution. The concentrated purchasing power of the labor class would be reflected in the central body which, as the head of the labor unions, would direct the purchasing policy.

This scheme is, naturally, a utopia—today. But it shows the principles which are apt to bring out the strength of the labor class in our present economic structure most effectively: its buying power. The A. F. of L. has propagated the system of coöperatives (some small associations actually exist), but in reality its efforts have failed. Labor's buying power cannot be emphasized without two conditions: firm and nation-wide organization, and emphatic leadership. As it is, both factors are distinctly absent. But even should such a movement remain a utopia in the United States for twenty or thirty years, it is interesting to ask these questions:

Who could have denied the federation, with the right sort of leadership, a powerful position in present-day economics in the United States? Who could have denied it the demand for a five-day week, for good wages for all, for cancellation of injunctions and "yellow dog" contracts? In one word, how could the human rights of American labor be ignored, if a concentrated consumption power of millions of men, women and children were set against the concentrated power of American industry—consumption versus production?

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# THE LOGIC OF BALLYHOO

By JAMES RORTY

"NOTHING succeeds like excess," said Oscar Wilde. For over a hundred years America has been engaged in demonstrating the dubious and partial truth of Wilde's frivolous paradox. And now America has a headache. Capitalism has a headache. The theory and practice of mass production and mass distribution have a headache. Specifically, the advertising business, which has been one of our most successful excesses, has a headache.

Advertisers aren't advertising, for one thing. For another, advertising isn't pulling. The advertising sections of some of our hitherto opulent periodicals are as slender as the hips of the pseudo-Beardsley maidens that adorn their covers. Part of the buying public is broke; another part is scared. Both parts are enjoying a severe hangover from the revelry of the New Era, and they tend to take it out on advertising.

Historians will mark 1929 as the year when ballyhoo was taken seriously; 1931 as the year when *Ballyhoo* was put in big type on the cover of a mass magazine and successfully burlesqued. The phenomenon seems rather significant. Advertising has been attacked before, notably by Stuart Chase. But never before have a million and a half readers of all social classes paid $.15 a month for the privilege of laughing at the excesses, the patently disingenuous absurdities, of current advertising.

Paradoxes are double-edged. Is it not possible that advertising, perhaps our most successful national excess, in cutting a broad swathe for our material progress, has hewn down much that was valuable among the evolving cultural flora of our very young civilization? Is it not possible that our brilliant advertising swordsmen, drunk first with success and now more or less drunk with fear, may lay about so wildly as to administer the final coup de grâce to that estimable goose known as reader-confidence?

I intimate these possibilities. I raise the question: After ballyhoo—what? And I answer my own question with an attempt at sober realism: Probably, more ballyhoo. There are other answers, most of them not at present acceptable to the comfortable expectations of brand owners and media owners, based on the hitherto docile egg-laying proclivities of the goose called "reader-confidence." But the immediate probability is a gradual resumption of what Thorstein Veblen called "business as usual"; in other words, more ballyhoo.

Capitalism is a two-wheeled mechanism for social locomotion, and nobody has yet succeeded in devising a two-wheeled vehicle capable of maintaining a static equilibrium. Put it more simply. Capitalism is by its nature an expanding system. Progress is not so much its desire as its necessity—perhaps its doom. This is implicitly recognized even by such conservative commentators as Mr. Kettering, research director of General Motors. Mr. Kettering, in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post,* noted that we must now choose between *operating* our economic system at a fairly constant level of the production-consumption ratio, and *building* the system—in other words expanding it. He wisely dismisses the first alternative, for any close examination would show that it involves more radical transformation than we are at present prepared to contemplate. It would mean a considerable degree of socialization—or at least adding a third wheel to the vehicle of capitalism in which we are all riding. You can't stop a bicycle in the middle of traffic. You can't even slow it down too much. At a certain point you have to get off and walk.

The analogy is not exact, of course. You can pedal a bicycle at a constant rate of speed. It may be doubted whether our competitive capitalist machine can even do that. "Acceleration," writes Wesley Mitchell in the foreword to the two fat volumes of "Recent Economic Changes," "rather than structural change, is the key to an understanding of our recent economic development."

But, it may be objected, our system has been rapidly decelerating since October, 1929. True. I too have noted a considerable increase of pedestrians both in and out of the advertising business. But that doesn't change the nature of the system. It is an accelerating system. When the machine gets going it will obey the compulsion of its nature, which is to go faster and faster until it pitches over the brink of the next panic. Inflation—deflation. Expansion—contraction. That, for better or worse, is the inevitable rhythm of our system of competitive capitalism, or so, at least, say the economists. Even our most optimistic economic planners, such as Mr. Gerard Swope, for example, confine their hopes and plans to bridging these peaks and valleys with such devices as state participation in industry, the enlargement of the function of trade associations, and various forms of unemployment, disability, and old-age insurance.

More ballyhoo, then. For ballyhoo—or rather, advertising pretty much as usual—is profoundly functional in the accelerating decelerating system of modern competitive capitalism.

Back of the economic mechanism are people. The will-to-live of these people, one supposes, is the motive power of the mechanism. But is this wholly true? Is it our will, or the will of the machine, that we should have life more abundant—always in terms of things, more food, different food, more clothes, different clothes, more gadgets, different gadgets, pink bathrooms instead of white? To some extent it is both.

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Recently Mr. Paul Mazur, banker and economist, told a convention of morose stylists that their time would come again; that their technique—that of accelerating the obsolescence of clothes, kitchens, bathrooms, habits and standards of living in general—was essential to the maintenance of our system. Mr. Mazur went even farther. Anyone who attacks the American "keeping up with the Joneses psychology," said Mr. Mazur, is attacking the foundations of prosperity. I think that even our most radical social philosophers would agree to that—their only emendation being to put quotation marks around "prosperity."

What I am pointing out is that the philosophy of progress, the theory of accelerating obsolescence, the social psychology of "keeping up with the Joneses" expresses not merely the will-to-live of our people; it also expresses the will-to-live of industry and business under our system of capitalist competition—the mechanism *by* which we live.

Unquestionably the major force of our era is applied science. Applied to what? To the making of profits. Under capitalism, the supplying of necessary commodities and services is purely incidental to the quest of business for profits—not a constant level of profits, but more profits. Again, capitalism is an expanding, accelerating system. Under this system, profits beget profits and are reinvested to return more profits. Machines beget machines. Mass production necessitates mass distribution and an expanding mass demand.

Under this system what becomes of the "law" of supply and demand? It is abrogated, distorted, farced. Production, overfinanced by excess profits reinvested in industry, is multiplied grotesquely; in a recent symposium entitled "The Menace of Overproduction," a distinguished group of business leaders and government experts cited figures showing the enormous excess plant capacity of practically every basic industry in America.

Demand is underfinanced. Not enough buying power is returned to the worker to enable him to buy, as consumer, what he makes as producer. Demand is balked by inflating prices through mergers and trade agreements and by mounting competitive sales costs which have to be loaded on the consumer; finally, demand is destroyed by unemployment, "technological" or cyclical.

But—demand can also be stimulated, even created. That is the function of advertising. Never have the appeals to the advertising profession been more frantic than during the current depression. Never has it appeared so clearly that advertising is profoundly functional in our system. The consumer is not buying. What makes the consumer buy? Advertising.

Of course, this is not a complete q.e.d.—advertising cannot finance consumption. The most it can do is to apply its developed technique to overcoming the purely psychological factors in a depression; it can tempt with bargains those buyers who are not so much broke as scared; it can foster public acceptance of style changes, of the idea of accelerating obsolescence, necessitated not so much by the needs of the consumer as by the needs of the seller; finally, it can reassure the general public and strengthen its morale with "upward and onward" propaganda.

It is perhaps a somewhat unfair burden, but inescapable. Advertising has assumed it and will continue to assume it. As an industry it is no less essential under our system than coal or steel. In so far as the system is sane, ethical, intelligent, advertising is sane, ethical, intelligent. I think, parenthetically, that advertising men have wasted too much time in defensive replies to Chase and other critics. All such pot-and-kettle liberal recriminations seem to me to be beside the point. We are all in the same boat. Until we are ready to build ourselves a better boat, it is far more useful to understand thoroughly the nature and necessities of the boat in which we are sailing. When cultivated moralists sniff at the bad smells of advertising, they are merely making supercilious faces at the stoker. Do bought and paid for testimonials work? Very well, then; use bought and paid for testimonials, for buying must be stimulated in order that prosperity may return. If, on the other hand, it can be shown that bought and paid for testimonials destroy reader-confidence, then in the long run they don't work; they impair the stock in trade not merely of the advertiser who uses them but of all advertisers, so don't use them.

What has ethics to do with it? Advertising merely obeys the conventions of our "business man's civilization," of which it is a necessary functioning part. If and when our recurring crises convince us that these conventions are inadequate and obsolete, they will be changed and the practice of advertising will reflect these changes.

Until then, the answer to the question, "After ballyhoo—what?" would seem to be, "More ballyhoo": advertising more or less as usual.

During the prolonged hangover of our drunken New Era one hears frequently, even in rather conservative circles, that capitalism is bankrupt. I point out that Stalin doesn't think so. Neither does any informed American radical of my acquaintance. One even doubts that any profound changes in the mechanism of our capitalist system are immediately in prospect, although to some of us it seems probably that such profound changes will ultimately be necessitated. The changes already manifesting themselves are relatively minor. The capture of power by the distributive chains means something, of course. The shift in social psychology signalized by the success of the burlesque sheet, *Ballyhoo,* means something. One suspects, however, that the last-named phenomenon means both less and more than is commonly supposed.

Last December, when *Ballyhoo* had attained a circulation of about a million and a half, it published an advertisement in *Printer's Ink,* the leading advertising trade publication, offering to sell space to advertisers,

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thus exploding the rather naive supposition, held by many liberals of my acquaintance, that *Ballyhoo* was a crusading enterprise. It is quite obviously not that. If an outsider may guess at the publishing theory that guides its management, it is something like this:

"The exaggerations, the absurdities, of advertising are amusing to even the more naive section of our literate masses. We shall therefore exploit this fun. But burlesquing an advertiser doesn't hurt him, doesn't impair the sales effectiveness of his advertising. Rather, there is some ground for believing that it helps him. In the present futilitarian impasse of our social psychology, every knock is a boost. Therefore, we shall continue to burlesque advertising and at the same time sell space to bona fide advertisers. True, our readers may laugh at advertisements but they will also buy the advertiser's wares."

It is a strange world, my masters, this world beyond the looking-glass through which the half-understood forces of modern capitalist industrialism have driven us. But in this world the Mad Hatter logic of *Ballyhoo* is likely, in the immediate future, to continue valid. Advertising did not invent this logical system, nor is the advertising profession, by transforming its current ethics, theory and practice, capable of altering it. Advertising is merely a symptom. Advertising men merely obey, develop and enforce the Mad Hatter logic of our acquisitive society. True, advertising, though primarily an effect, becomes in turn a cause in so far as it helps to shape and "educate" the individual and social psychology in terms of material emulation. But the root cause lies deeper. And the plow of revolutionary change has yet to turn its first furrow in the American land.

# THE NEW IRISH RÉGIME

By PADRAIC COLUM

ONE OF the useful accomplishments of the Cosgrave régime in Ireland has been the making of Mr. De Valera into a constitutionalist. The new President played for a decade with the anti-constitutionalists. Meanwhile the Free State was being stabilized, and no one with any sense wanted to bring about its violent upset. Mr. De Valera discovered (or perhaps he knew all along) that the people who wanted revolution in Ireland were not numerous and that there were dangerous elements among them. Moreover, he was approaching fifty, his followers were in the late forties, and it was apparent that if they were to rule before the policies of the next generation had to be taken into account they would have to be in office within the next few years. And to have the chance of getting into office they would have to recommend themselves to the electors as constitutionalists. Mr. De Valera stopped telling the young men that Ireland was theirs for the taking. He stopped saying that there was an authority in the country superior to the Dail. During the debates on the Public Safety Act he announced that there was only one authority in the country, the authority of Dail Eireann, and that there was room for only one army, the army that served the Dail. President Cosgrave must have given a sigh of relief when he heard this constitutional pronouncement. At last an alternative government was possible. The treaty which Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins and Kevin O'Higgins had laid down their lives to uphold, the treaty which he and his colleagues had preserved, would be maintained by the Fianna Fail party. As far as the secret societies and the revolutionary elements in the country were concerned, Mr. De Valera was in the same boat as Mr. Cosgrave.

The new President has announced his program and in it the stability of the Free State is upheld. The oath is to be removed, but Mr. De Valera declares that its removal does not affect the treaty but only the constitution. The land annuities which were being paid into the British Treasury are to be withheld. But that is to be done through a friendly arrangement with the British government. So the Labor party says, and the Labor party can speak with as much assurance on Mr. De Valera's program as Mr. De Valera can himself. And what is this oath and what are these annuities? The oath is not one of allegiance to the King of England as many people on this side think. It is an oath of faithfulness—faithfulness implying mutual obligation—to the head of an association of states which comprise Great Britain, the Irish Free State, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, no member-state of which is superior to another. President De Valera can get rid of this oath by inducing the Dail and Senad to change a law (this, of course, will take time). But he has stated that the Free State is going to Ottawa, to the Imperial Conference, to get some economic privileges. If he takes measures to get rid of the oath, the Irish people, I think, will feel that it would be more decent for Mr. De Valera not to go to Ottawa.

We have to go back thirty years to understand the question of the land annuities. At that time, under the Wyndham Act, the Irish farmers were enabled to buy their land from the landowners. They were able to do this because the British government could raise the millions to finance the transaction. The number of years' purchase was agreed upon between a group of tenants and their landlord; the British Treasury gave the purchase money to the landlord and the tenant agreed to pay the amount back. It takes the tenant about sixty-nine years to pay it back, and the annuities that the tenants of the Free State pay into the British

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Treasury are now about $15,000,000. Mr. De Valera professes to believe that this is a tribute paid by Ireland to England. Mr. Cosgrave maintains that it is a debt due from one people to another, an obligation that must be met like any other obligation.

Behind Mr. De Valera are people who would repudiate the payment on the ground that the English occupation of Ireland inflicted such economic damage that the £100,000,000 still to be paid by the Irish tenants if held by the Irish state would only begin to pay for it. And anyway the amount was paid by the British government to Irish landlords; the British government in giving them their purchase-money was only recompensing them for service done—let England look upon the purchase-money as a subsidy which she would have paid to any allies. The difficulty about this argument is that Great Britain is not going to acknowledge that she owes Ireland any indemnity, and there is no power existing in the world that can make her do it. Her people are looking to the Irish tenants for the return of money loaned them. And if an Irish government withholds the money all that need be done is to put a tax on Irish products sold in England. An Irish farmer sells a bullock for $75.00 and a case of eggs for $25.00. The British authorities hand him a check for $90.00. His annuities are being collected from him, and if his business is being damaged at the same time that is not Great Britain's affair. I imagine that the Irish tenants would prefer to pay their annuities in the normal way. Especially as they would be paying them in any case into Mr. De Valera's Treasury. For the new President has told that an Irish government would collect the annuities and hold them for relief of local taxation.

Labor has declared that the non-payment of the annuities is a matter for friendly negotiations. No one believes that the British government will be friendly enough to let go of a payment of $15,000,000 per year these hard times. But there is matter to negotiate about, I think. Something like the same amount that goes out of Ireland in annuities comes back from Great Britain in payment for war pensions. It might be possible to arrange that the Free State take over the payment of these pensions and that a fund formed by the land annuities could be used for this purpose. There would be advantages to the Free State in such an arrangement: the government could wipe out the annuities in the more poverty-stricken areas and make up the difference by taxation of land that could afford additional payment.

Those who would withhold the land annuities make a point of the fact that the Northern government is not paying them into the British Treasury. But this is because Great Britain has to pay a large share of the unemployment benefits in the North of Ireland; the annuities with other sums from the British taxpayers are being absorbed in the costs of the government of the Six Counties. The payment has not been cancelled. As soon as Northern Ireland is in a position to pay her way the land annuities will again make their way into the British Treasury.

The abrogation of the oath and the withholding of the land annuities are in the future. The immediate parts of the program of the new régime concern the repeal of the Public Safety Act and the liberation of prisoners who are being held for political offenses. The new President professes to believe that the abrogation of the oath and the abolition of the military tribunals will have such a soothing effect on the minds of the young men in the country, that for the first time in history there will be really an Ireland free of discontent and therefore free of disorders. One can only wait and see. Personally I believe that the organizations that are striving to make the Eucharistic Congress a success can mobilize sufficient opinion against public disorders to make any outrage or outbreak out of the question. The congress, one may be certain, will not only be a success but will be a credit to Ireland. But afterward?

The young men who are walking the roads at night are not concerning themselves about the oath taken by deputies. They want what the rest of us want—an interesting life. And if the dead country towns and the villages where traditional merrymaking has been as much lost as in puritanical New England cannot offer them such a life, and if they cannot emigrate to America, they will get their interest by belonging to secret societies, by drilling in secret armies, by being able to exercise a hidden influence on affairs in their districts. Then one day in some corner of the country a local vendetta will bear consequences. . . . Michael MacGowan's grandfather lost his good land to a grabber whose grandchildren are now up in the world. There are many who agree with Michael, a commandant in a secret society force, that these people have more airs than descendants of land-grabbers should display. Some relation of the grabbers comes to the district as an officer of the Civic Guard. He shows too much interest in the movements of Michael and his comrades after dark. He is shot dead. The secret societies serve notice on all whom it may concern that the shooting of the officer was a political act having to do with the restoration of the republic. What will President De Valera's Minister of Justice be able to do about such a transaction? Have arrests made and have some men tried by a jury of their neighbors? But that would be to put twelve men on the firing-line. President De Valera's Minister of Justice will be in a very grave dilemma. And the immunity of secret societies, as President Cosgrave perceived, will lead to the spread, not of a revolutionary movement, but of a revolutionary temper through the country.

Either the secret societies are let alone or they are dealt with as the Cosgrave régime was dealing with them through the Public Safety Act—by military tribunal. These societies are the survivals of Irish tribalism. They will always be opposed to the state no matter who the head of the state happens to be. Pres-

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ident Cosgrave's great virtue was in the fact that he believed in the state and was resolved at every personal risk to make the state respected. His was a government that was not afraid to govern, and he was showing the activists that the state cannot be defied. Unfortunately he was not able to carry out, or able to carry out only very slowly, a policy which should have been twin to the Public Safety Act, a policy which would aim at bringing some vital interest into the Irish countryside. The government and the heads of the Church will have to come together to work out a scheme that will bring the young people work and recreation and that will take away the repression that is upon the countryside.

The election of a new government will have one good effect—it will get rid of an obsession that is in the minds of many people, the obsession that insists that the difference between Mr. Cosgrave and Mr. De Valera is the difference between iniquity and purity. The passing of this obsession will be a great gain to constitutionalism in Ireland, a great blow to the Old Adam of tribalism. Mr. De Valera has lived to hear the stern and unbending Republicans denounce him for upholding "mongrel legislature" and tell him to get back to where Miss MacSweeney stands—he, now, is the trafficker in inquity. And Mr. Cosgrave's temporary retirement will lead to a widespread discovery of Mr. Cosgrave. People who took him for granted, and people who were hostile to him because he was a Dublin man, or because he and his ministers received salaries, or because he was received by King George, or because he used stern measures to save the state, will begin to discover that Ireland has a statesman who has wisdom, courage, forbearance and a warm Irishism. It will be possible for them to see in this active, humorous, planning man a leader who restored and maintained the political credit of the Irish people. Had the treaty been wrecked, had the authority of Dail Eireann given way to the authority of military bodies, Ireland would have become a Portugal with revolution recurring every three months or so. Owing to the courage with which the President and his able colleagues stood for the authority of the elected representatives of the people, Ireland has won past the danger line and has permanent democratic institutions.

William Cosgrave leaves to his successor in the Presidency an administration which has no taint of graft or inefficiency and an array of national institutions which are practically fool-proof. After ten years in office, he is displaced by sixteen votes, which shows that objection to men who have the courage to be honest with the people is not widespread.

# CATHOLICS AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

By JAMES J. WALSH

THE DECEMBER number of the *Scientific Monthly*, which is one of the two journals received by all the members of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has a very curious article on "Scientific Eminence and Church Membership." It is written by two men, Dr. Harvey C. Lehman, of Ohio State University, and Paul A. Witty, of Northwestern University, Illinois. Among other things it brings out the fact that only about 25 percent of the outstanding scientists in America report church affiliations in their self-dictated biographical sketches in "Who's Who." The smallness of this percentage is emphasized by the fact that about 50 percent of all the individuals whose names appear in "Who's Who" provide this information with regard to church affiliation. The writers go on to say that the 25 percent who give information on this subject are associated in most instances with the relatively liberal denominations. The Unitarians and Congregationalists provide strikingly greater numbers of church members who are research workers in science than do the Catholics, the Lutherans and the Baptists. As their ultimate conclusion, the writers declare that "the conspicuous dearth of scientists among the Catholics suggests that the tenets of that Church are not consonant with scientific research."

I doubt whether a better illustration could be found of the old aphorism: "Figures do not lie but figurers can reach any conclusion that they are intent on and then support it by figures." The surprise is that it should have taken two such distinguished professors of science to reach such a meaningless conclusion. Even a moment's consideration would suggest that Catholics in this country have almost without exception come from the poorer classes, and most of them continue to have to make a hard struggle for existence. **Christ** told the disciples of John the Baptist who came inquiring as to His mission to tell their master that "the lame walk," "the blind see," "the deaf hear," but above all "the Gospel is preached to the poor." When the Catholic Church ceases to be the Church of the poor, Christianity will be at an end; but so long as Christianity continues, there will be, because of poverty, limitation of the number of Catholics who will be able to devote themselves to scientific research. Congregationalists and Unitarians come from the oldest families in the country. They are usually the descendants of wealthy folk, free to devote themselves to anything they care to do, and not under the iron necessity of supporting a family and perhaps also contributing to the support of father and mother.

Catholics are fewer in research work, but not because of any lack of consonance between the tenets of the Church and scientific research. The proof of this

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is to be found in the large number of Catholics, both priests and laymen, who have been among the most distinguished contributors to scientific research during its supreme advance of the past hundred years. For example, the man whose splendid research worked the greatest revolution in biology was Abbot Mendel. He got so far ahead that it took the scientific world twenty-five years to catch up with him. The scientific journals have more than made up for their quarter of a century of silence by playing up his name more than any other during the twentieth century. It is probably correct to say that not an issue of a biological journal has appeared in the last thirty years without a reference to Mendel or his work, and any number of these journals have been devoted almost entirely to the discussion of Mendel's wonderful discoveries. Scientific research disturbed his faith so little that his brother Augustinians, knowing his abiding faith, elected him as their perpetual superior.

So far from Mendel standing alone, there are any number of others like him. When Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn wrote his book, "Men of the Old Stone Age," he dedicated it to three men whose work for paleontology meant more than that of any others. Two of these, Abbé Henri Breuil and Father Hugo Obermaier, are Catholic priests, and distinguished scientists from many countries who have been brought intimately in contact with these men in the course of their scientific labors have been deeply impressed by the faithfulness of these paleontologists to their religious duties.

A great many people are inclined to think that there is more danger to faith in paleontology, the science of ancient existence, than from any other department of science. Yet here are two of the most distinguished contributors to the science in our day who are not only Catholics but priests. To them might be added a whole series of other priests who have done wonderful work in paleontology and anthropology. Professor Osborn in the June, 1926, number of the *Forum* names and pays a tribute to more than a dozen of them who have done work that he thinks will never be forgotten in the annals of science. He mentions particularly the most recent phase of human pre-history, which is tracing man back to his ancient home—not in Mesopotamia or near Mount Ararat, but in the high central plateaus of northern China and Mongolia. Professor Osborn says that the first step in this direction was taken by Père Licent, a Jesuit missionary who discovered the flints of Ordos, and he was ably seconded by Père Teilhard de Chardin, professor of geology in the Institut Catholique de Paris, who in 1923 discovered at sites in China and Mongolia human industrial remains together with fossilized bones of animals, many of which are extinct.

It is not surprising that priests should have been such enthusiastic devotees of this science of archaeological anthropology and paleontology, because, as was pointed out by Sir Arthur Keith, the eminent British anthropologist, in an article in the magazine supplement of the New York *Times* five years ago, the founder of that science was Reverend John MacEnery, a young Catholic priest who devoted himself to a series of investigations of the remains in Kent's Hole near Torquay in Devon, England. In spite of discouragements of every kind, Father MacEnery went on with his work until he actually laid the foundation of a new science though, as in the case of Abbot Mendel, a long interval had to pass before the value of these discoveries was recognized.

But it is not only priests who have done great ground-breaking work in research, revolutionizing scientific ideas beyond all expectation, but also Catholic laymen. No one, except possibly Abbot Mendel, has so deeply influenced modern biology as Pasteur. His work has saved the lives of millions of people since his time. As evidence of his Catholicity, his tomb underneath the main door of the Pasteur Institute is a beautiful chapel where lie his remains and those of his wife and at their request Mass is said for their souls at regular intervals. When an old priest once asked Pasteur if his science did not disturb his faith, he replied, "If I knew all I should like to know, I should have the faith of a Breton peasant; if I knew all there was to know, I should have the faith of a Breton peasant woman."

As a matter of fact, most of the men who laid the foundations for important departments in biological science in the nineteenth century before Pasteur were Catholics. Claude Bernard is a typical example. We owe to him the opening of the great chapter of the scientific significance of the ductless glands. A contemporary of his was Theodor Schwann, the father of the cell doctrine. So good a Catholic was Schwann that he refused a position of distinction and higher salary offered him at a German university because he wanted to stay with his Catholic students in Catholic Belgium.

Schwann's teacher, and also the teacher of Virchow and of Reichert and Helmholtz and ever so many others in physiology—Virchow said he was the greatest teacher of physiology that ever lived—was that sterling Catholic, Johannes Muller, who while teaching in Berlin used to walk between three and four miles every Sunday morning in order to get to Mass, since because of bigotry the only Catholic church was in one of the obscure suburbs.

But successful Catholic investigators are not confined to the biological sciences. It is just as true with regard to the physical sciences. Galvani, Volta, Ampère, Coulomb—the men after whom units and modes of electricity were named by the International Congress of Electricity—were excellent practical Catholics. The tenets of the Catholic Church did not interfere in the slightest degree with their scientific researches, which were so successfully pursued that their names are not likely ever to be forgotten in the history of science.

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# HOLY WEEK IN ASSISI

By FELIX M. KIRSCH

HOLY WEEK in Rome is universally acknowledged to be a privilege, and the solemn services and glorious music of the churches in the Eternal City are impressive indeed. Yet many seasoned travelers declare that Holy Week in Assisi is even more inspiring. Suffice it to say that Assisi yearly welcomes back many pilgrims who return to spend Holy Week in the native town of the Little Poor Man.

There are several reasons for this persistent appeal. There is, first of all, the Italian spring which merits all the praise that poets and travelers have lavished thereon throughout the ages. It is especially lovely in the Umbrian plain and in the valley of Spoleto, of which that ardent lover of nature, Saint Francis of Assisi, avowed that he had seen nothing more beautiful in all the world.

In addition to these unusual charms of nature, there is the fascination of Assisi as a shrine of religion and the home of art. Wherever the visitor turns he sees vistas of beauty. The façade of the Temple of Minerva—now the Church of Santa Maria della Minerva—is considered the finest temple façade preserved in Italy, and the frescoes in the Church of San Francesco present a veritable history of Italian painting. The very streets and houses offer tempting subjects for the painter's brush in a town where our Capuchin College of San Lorenzo built by Giorgetti in 1646 is considered "quite modern"! In fact, immense and beautiful antiquity is suggested by everything in and around Assisi: Etruscan tombs, pagan temples, a Roman forum and amphitheatre, century-old convents and churches, mediaeval castles, and so forth.

Assisi is interesting and charming all the year. But for Holy Week the ancient hill town, with its seven thousand inhabitants, bestirs itself and makes special preparations. Each of its some fifty churches and chapels seems to vie with the rest in carrying out the services most impressively.

Visitors will naturally seek out the world-famous shrines—the Cathedral of San Rufino where Saint Francis and Saint Clare were baptized, the Basilica of San Francesco where Saint Francis lies buried, or Maria degli Angeli treasuring the Portiuncula and the death cell of the Poverello. To assist at Tenebrae in San Francesco is an event never to be forgotten. No modern music here. Last year music that had not been sung for three hundred years was dug up from the archives. Modern music would be out of place in that thirteenth-century church, with Saint Francis sleeping in his crypt, and the Giottos and Martinis and Cimabues surveying the scene from overhead and all the walls.

The Assisians, however, prefer the small churches and convent chapels. It is there we find them crowding around the altars of reposition on Holy Thursday. The altars reveal the Italian sense of beauty. Flowers there are in profusion and a pale variety of wheat that has been grown in cellars to serve as clusters for lamps and torches. In the homes, too, not only has there been much scouring and cleaning, but special food—in particular a kind of cake made of cheese and eggs—must be served all during Holy Week.

The climax of all this devotion and diversified activity is reached on Good Friday. In the morning a small procession wends its way from the cathedral, conducting the dead Christ, carried on a catafalque, to the Basilica of San Francesco. The figure of the Christ is an exquisite piece of wood-carving dating from the seventeenth century. The catafalque is placed before the altar rising over the tomb of Saint Francis. Near by in a niche is the tomb of the Roman matron who was always so thoughtful of the needs of Brother Francis during his life, and who furnished the candles and the winding sheet for his funeral. Giacomina di Settesoli well merited the name of Brother Giacomina given her by Saint Francis, and it is proper that she has found her last resting place, along with other devoted followers of the saint, in the Basilica of her Seraphic Father.

All day long the Assisians continue to visit the church and venerate affectionately the figure of the Christ, and in the evening, shortly after dusk, they form a procession to conduct Mary, the Mother of Christ, to the basilica and to accompany her when she brings her Son back to the cathedral. It is a unique procession. Confraternities of men, garbed in their mediaeval habits, and the clergy from the cathedral, headed by the bishop, and the Friars from San Francesco make up the procession. A special feature of the procession are some seven or eight penitents who, masked and garbed in coarse, flowing robes, with crowns of thorns on their heads, carry huge crosses. Whoever has been accustomed to the noisy demonstrations exhibited usually by these excitable people on the occasion of religious festivities, is impressed all the more with the solemn silence that greets this procession. The silence is broken only by the chant of the "Miserere," the "Stabat Mater" and other plaintive hymns. The instruments of the Passion, carried by altar boys, add to the realism of the scene. When the catafalque of the Christ passes, everybody blesses himself, and I saw some weeping. The statue of the Sorrowful Mother is borne aloft behind the catafalque and is quite realistic with seven swords piercing her heart while her eyes are turned toward the Cross.

All the houses along the route of the procession are illuminated with flares. If you remember how narrow the streets are—at most places there is room only for a donkey cart to pass—you can imagine the beauty of the scene, with the houses that have grown grey and venerable with the passing of centuries, now gleaming forth under the fitful glare of the torches. One needs little fancy to people the selfsame streets with the torchlight processions in which the son of Pietro Bernardone delighted.

Yet the procession is not a mere spectacle. It is prompted by a deep faith. On last year's Good Friday a steady rain poured down, and a procession under such circumstances was difficult, especially since the penitents carrying the heavy crosses were in their bare feet, and the road was rough and cold—there had been snow two days before. But the celebration was held as usual. A people who will permit no obstacle to interfere with their devotion must have faith.

Indeed, the reverent silence of the onlookers, the expression in the eyes of those who walk in the procession and the subsequent scene in the cathedral, with the bishop, clergy and populace paying honor to Christ and His Blessed Mother—are all eloquent of faith. Mr. Joergensen, the famous Danish convert, who has been a resident in Assisi for some twenty years, confessed to me that he was annually confirmed in his faith by joining in the Holy Week services in Assisi.

In fact, anyone witnessing the Good Friday pageant in Assisi would feel a new faith both in Christ and in the Italian people. There is a new spirit abroad in the country. In the afternoon of Good Friday in the course of sermons preached in Maria Maggiore during the service of the Three Hours' Agony, the preacher was thoroughly intellectual and doctrinal in his appeal. In the schools—both elementary and secondary—religious instruction is now obligatory, and with the establishment of peace between Church and State a new reverence has come for religion that augurs well for the future.

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# DOCTOR MARGARET LAMONT

By PALUEL J. FLAGG

TAPS have sounded for a brave soldier. The most important figure in the Catholic Medical Mission World is dead. After eighteen years of unequal struggle, comes the triumph of her failure.

Born and bred in an intellectual and devout Anglican missionary atmosphere, a personal friend of Dr. Agnes MacLaren, received into the Church in 1907 by Father Bernard Vaughan, Dr. Lamont steadfastly clung to her gift of faith, against the perpetual resistance and indifference which she encountered in her attempts to crystallize her service of eminence. Impatient of the art of diplomacy, she bluntly announced what she believed to be true, and cheerfully accepted the consequences. Accustomed to the freedom and the financial independence of the Protestant Medical Missionary, she found it extremely difficult, and often impossible, to conform to the requirements of the community superior under whom she labored. To a medical mind with a modern training, her points were usually well taken; and even those whom she opposed were constrained to grant her lack of vindictiveness, her charity and her sense of humor. She never fought persons; she fought points of view. Her battle was always for principle, and her strong natural virtues preserved her from ordinary frailities.

Shortly after her death which occurred on August 16, 1931, following an operation, at Port Said, Egypt, the writer received a letter postmarked, "Paris, France," signed by a Père Blanche, containing a manuscript from Dr. Lamont with a notation, "To be published when I am dead." Since that time, he has done his best, but it is as though one attempted to prepare off-hand the biography of a well-known scientist by reference to a few condensed notes, or from passing memories jotted down on impulse—and Dr. Lamont was impulsive. She would pack up and move to a new country with as little ado as you or I would board the subway. Her lengthy letters show an intensely active mind, a splendid memory, a rare accumulation of scientific facts, and a fund of collateral information. She was entirely unselfish and devoted to Medical Missions to the exclusion of her immediate personal interests.

In despair then, old files were explored, to try, if possible, to reassemble some sort of picture. There came to light a copy of the San Francisco *Monitor* of July 11, 1914; a card bearing the information that twenty-five dollars in gold would be awarded for the best article on "The Time Is Now Ripe for the Catholic Medical Missioner in the Far East," dated, July 1, 1914, and sponsored by the *Field Afar* of Maryknoll; additional information to the effect that 1,900 of these cards had gone out to the colleges and academies of the country; and then the casual fact that Dr. Margaret Lamont of Hat Creek, Ashcroft, British Columbia, was winner of the contest. Next, the record of a notice for the *Journal of the American Medical Association,* to the effect that those at the annual meeting of May 21, 1914, at Atlantic City, might secure information relative to Catholic Medical Missions, if they presented themselves at the Marlborough-Blenheim, brought back distinct memories of a total amounting to not a single inquiry. I then came upon the details of a successful effort to obtain funds to send Dr. Lamont and her family from British Columbia to China in 1914. A note from her, dated June 15 of that year, read: "I got your good news and Dr. Rochelle's. You are both trumps. . . . I only hope my work will come up to your expectations; certainly my desires do." There were many letters in the vigorous handwriting of our benefactor, Dr. Laurentine Rochelle of Croghan, New York, who in her characteristic fashion said: "I shall not call you, Dear Doctor, for I have written you twice and you have not answered me." I then came upon an artistic little pamphlet done in green, with a yellow silk cord, and a gold ox head—the Report of the Catholic Medical Mission Society, acting under the sponsorship of the Society of the Atonement, with the munificent amount of $335 to Dr. Lamont, and the staggering balance of $90.78 for the year. A small, faded, yellow slip proved to be the program of the first meeting of the Catholic Hospital Association. By this time, records ceased, for in the midst of the World War it became impossible for Dr. Lamont to do more than survive, as her husband, a British subject, met difficulties in his frequent German contacts.

Upon the occasion of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Catholic Hospital Association, at Washington, D. C., the Medical Mission Committee was appointed by the Catholic Hospital Association, signifying the formal sponsorship of Catholic Medical Mission activities, by a Catholic medical group. At about this time, an acquaintance of Dr. Lamont's, Dr. Anna Dengel, made a visit to the United States, in the interest of the Rawli Pindi Hospital which had been founded by Dr. Lamont's old friend, Dr. Agnes MacLaren. The newly formed Catholic Medical Mission Board arranged an extensive itinerary, and generously assisted her in making her work known.

Occasionally in contact with Dr. Lamont, but always close to her in the spirit of her undertakings, the Medical Mission Board finally arranged a few months ago to provide a small financial assistance for her advancing years. Before the notification of this arrangement reached her, however, she had passed away.

But the labors of Dr. Lamont have not been in vain; her program for Catholic Medical Mission help, particularly for the women in India, is even now taking substantial form; and the wide publicity which she has given the general problem of Medical Mission work has been of the utmost aid in helping those who are now interested.

Unfortunately Dr. Lamont failed to receive the support and the consideration which were her due. Referring to her experience in China, she says: "At the time of my conversion, I was on the top of the wave among Protestants, and sank down into the trough behind by becoming a Catholic. In China, even after my husband had gone to the war like everybody else, a Scotch doctor signed my medical certificate with the remark: 'You are not really fit, but you will die here of despair, inaction, and anxiety. I see how it is. The Protestant Mission won't have you because you are a Catholic, and the Catholic Mission won't have you because they are old-fashioned, and won't believe that a woman can be a proper doctor, still less a surgeon. You are losing your professional skill doing small dispensary work.'" She frequently lacked the bare necessities of life. In her last letter of June 29, 1931, she writes: "At present, I am two pounds short of my board bill for June, yet I ought to get to the sea at Alexandria, as the heat here, in summer, might be fatal at my age." She died in less than two months.

The memory of her sacrifices should remain with us always. Perhaps the mission priests who knew her splendid work will say a Mass for the repose of her soul. Perhaps the Sisters who have received the benefit of her skill will pray for her. Perhaps the practising physician who has known and watched her work will be moved to remember her in his will by contributing to a substantial memorial—a Margaret Lamont Foundation—for the training of native Chinese boys in the art of Western medicine.

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# POEMS FOR HOLY WEEK

## *The Cock-crow*

Out in the south and in from the west,
  From any fair lands and skies,
Where is the bird of roost or nest
Sings from a heart in earnest zest
  A song that never dies?

Happily sound all birds of day,
  And nightingales in the dark:
Joyous the thrush in tree-top play,
The finch that carols along its way,
  And heavens that breathe the lark.

But a tramp may be a princely knight,
  A pauper go brave and bold:
And a word that sets our thoughts aright,
And floods our doubting hearts with light,
  Is a fairer word than gold.

Laugh that the rooster is chanticleer
  To call in the night for dawn:
Laugh at his syllables poor and queer,
Yet does he chant to the Gaelic ear,
  *Mac n'hoyer slaun.*

*The Son of the Virgin is safe,* sings he,
  Safe from the traitor's kiss,
Safe from the rabble's cruelty,
The Caiphas crew in savage glee,
  And Pilate's cowardice.

Then hearken and hear on Thursday night,
  And clearly at Friday's dawn:
The cry of faith is brave and bright,
Calling to Easter's sure delight,
  *Mac n'hoyer slaun.*

MICHAEL EARLS.

## *Magdalen*

O Mary, when with broken heart,
You knelt, and bathed Christ's feet with tears,
You little knew the hope you brought,
To lost, sad women down the years.

Frail Mary, you who loved too well—
Through love for God, from sin set free—
While lowly kneeling, did you hear
His tender voice say, "Follow Me"?

With Him you climbed to Calvary;
You watched beside His resting place;
O woman blest! When Easter dawned,
You heard Him speak! You saw His face!

ANNA MOODY.

## *The Agony in the Garden*

All time is compassed in this garden hour,
Confessed and secret sins of centuries
That were or are to be.
  For these the Cross!

Pledged, pledged eternally this God, this Man, Who sees
New sorrows in the morrow's agonies,
To go the stony road from Olivet, to die
Despised, reviled, alone.

  This anguished sweat,
This flowing Blood, condign atonement, cry
Against the Spirit sorrowful to death
That knows the cock shall crow not twice upon the night
Ere Peter, rock of faith, shall thrice deny
His Saviour sold to sacrifice.

  A little while—
O let this chalice pass! Yet for this cause
He came unto this hour.
  Thy Will be done,
O Father, even if this Thy Beloved Son
Must take the bitter cup whose drink reclaims
All mankind to Thy mercy and Thy love.

The flesh is weak before the will—O Peter, James,
And John, new come from mysteries of Bread and Wine,
Could you or any man not watch and pray
One hour with Him, this Contradicted Sign?

JOHN GILLAND BRUNINI.

## *Punishment*

What was your crime, O dying thief,
That won so strange a sentence?
What evil did you work, that brought
That last, God-heard repentance?

Was it for theft of gold or bread,
They hung you to that cross?
Did you not know until that hour,
That bread and gold are dross?

What were the lame and twisted steps
That led you through the years
To death's dark moment, when your words
Fell on a Saviour's ears?

Strange, that a dying criminal's gaze
Should meet a King's proud eyes!
Strange, that a hand stretched out to steal
Should grasp God's Paradise!

LEONARD YOUNG.

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# THE PLAY

By RICHARD DANA SKINNER

## *Alice Sit-by-the-Fire*

IT IS like a sudden clear wind in a hot valley to hear the lines of Sir James Barrie again, especially when they are more than competently handled by that mistress of whimsical speech, Laurette Taylor. All in all, William A. Brady is to be congratulated on that sound instinct which prompts him, every now and then, to "go Barrie." He it was who had the rare judgment to give us Helen Hayes in "What Every Woman Knows"—a theatrical precinct which had been too long reserved, mentally, for the memory of Maude Adams. He seems to know when an actor or actress can safely climb on the cobwebs of Barrie's dialogue.

"Alice Sit-by-the-Fire" is, of course, a little old-fashioned. It even includes one of those dreadful moments when a character stands on the stage alone and whispers her secret intentions to the audience! And what a very pleasant old fashion that can be! It almost re-creates in an instant some of the forgotten glamor of the theatre, of those days when everyone knew and welcomed the fact that a play was something artificial, and when no one thought of demanding the realism of a motion picture from the paint and canvas and lights of a stage. I am not sure that I would deliberately exchange the modern playwriting technique for the older and unashamed artificialities. It is probably better to have things as they are and to be swept along by an unbroken and carefully contrived illusion. But neither can I rebel at precious little moments picked from the not very remote past, nor believe that they should be abolished or forgotten simply because of their delightful naïveté. Barrie strung his cobwebs on the framework of the grand old simplicities, and so made them more enduring than many modern taut piano wires strung from very unseasoned timbers.

"Alice Sit-by-the-Fire" recounts the first twenty-four hours after the homecoming from India of an elderly colonel and his still very attractive wife, Alice—a homecoming which means the meeting all over again between mother and children, after that pleasant fashion by which the children of the British army in India are often sent back to England to be brought up. The homecoming threatens to become a bit tragic, inasmuch as the mother at first finds it very difficult to attune herself to a grown son and daughter, and is even greeted with wails by the youngest child still in its crib. It is then that Alice informs the audience in a direct whisper that before another day has passed she will find a way to gain the love of all her children.

The main comedy, of course, revolves about the daughter, who, overhearing her mother use a playfully endearing term to a young family friend, believes that it is her mission to destroy her mother's clandestine "romance." Amy has been reading a few novels and seeing a few plays, and is very sure of her worldly wisdom. Not knowing that both her father and mother are going to Stephen Rollo's apartment that night, Amy resolves to go in her mother's place, to demand the return of "the letters" and to endeavor to save the family honor. It all ends up as a Barrie play would have to end—including Alice's discovery that the time has come for her to sit by the fire with her husband and to forget the days of romance in India.

What I think Barrie has done, in a way that few other playwrights can hope to do, is to catch in most of his plays the enduring importance of the trivial and of those secret impulses which stir all mankind to a point that no one will admit. None of us admits or talks about our day-dreams easily. We are curiously ashamed of them—as if in some way they would break the mask of adult stalwartness we all like to wear. Barrie simply cuts away this mask. He lays bare the eternal day-dreaming child in every one of us, and, in doing so, makes us welcome the gentle exposure. We see ourselves as incurably romantic and sentimental, and the sight warms our hearts a bit. There is a good deal of this feeling in "Alice Sit-by-the-Fire"—to which Laurette Taylor, as Alice, brings the gracious charm of a maturing art, ably assisted by Peg Entwisle as the sacrificial daughter, Amy, and by Maurey Tuckerman as the bumptious son, Cosmo. If you want a few moments of clear refreshment in the theatre, by all odds go to this revival. (At the Playhouse Theatre.)

## *The Old Lady Shows Her Medals*

AS IF "Alice" were not enough of a treat for one evening, Mr. Brady also presents on the same bill Barrie's little masterpiece, "The Old Lady Shows Her Medals," with Laurette Taylor transforming herself for the occasion into little old Mrs. Dowey, the charwoman who discovers a "son" in the great war, only to lose him.

The three short scenes of this one-act play have long been a favorite medium for little theatres in this country and Great Britain. Its story is one of unspeakable charm and pathos, told with tender restraint and loving humor. I do not know of any other play that achieves so much human depth with so little apparent effort unless, possibly, Sierra's "Cradle Song." The two plays are comparable only in this one respect, that each draws to the full upon the universal and almost ferocious instinct of motherhood. In the Sierra play, each nun in the convent becomes in her heart the mother of the child left to their care. In Barrie's story, it is an old charwoman who, childless, cannot bear the thought of having no son at the front to write to, and to whom she can send knitted things and bites to eat. She reads in the papers the name of a Kenneth Dowey, as a member of the Black Watch who has done his share of heroism, and pretends to her friends that this is her son, and that she receives letters from him every week. When he actually appears in London, on leave, and comes to see her out of curiosity, she is desperately afraid that her innocent little game will be exposed. How she wins him around, makes him want to pose as her son and even to take her proudly to the theatre, and how, in the end, all she has left to show her friends are his medals, sent back by the war office after his death—this is the substance of a little play that only Barrie could write, and that even he could write only in a moment of rare inspiration.

Laurette Taylor and Lawrence Fletcher, as Kenneth, share the honors in this matchless play. Miss Taylor is quite unrecognizable in the part, but her art emerges from it brilliantly, the art of the actress who knows how to create from within. It is a wan and pathetic little creature she presents to us, who becomes gradually warmed to life and vitality through mother love. Mr. Fletcher's Kenneth is as brusque and awkward and tender as any Highland private. When we add to "Alice" the finest play Barrie ever wrote, acted with rare feeling and masterly simplicity, we have in all an evening in the theatre which goes far to bring back the magic that can lurk within four walls. (At the Playhouse Theatre.)

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# COMMUNICATIONS

## RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor: The Reverend Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., commenting in the January *Fortnightly Review* on "Religious Liberty in Transition," by the Reverend Joseph Francis Thorning, S.J. (New York: Benziger Brothers), quotes: "If any state has a clear and consistent record in regard to religious liberty as opposed to mere toleration, that state is Rhode Island" (page 141). The reviewer adds that this has long been his own view and continues: "The fact is, and we ought to admit it, that not mere toleration as in Maryland and Pennsylvania, but complete and unrestricted liberty in matters of religious belief and practice, was proclaimed by the 'lively experiment' of Roger Williams."

The words "mere toleration" in connection with the Maryland experiment are puzzling. What can they mean, in Catholic ideology, as contrasted with "complete and unrestricted liberty in matters of religious belief"? It seems to me quite obvious that the Catholic Proprietor of Maryland could not grant "complete and unrestricted religious liberty"; but neither did he "merely tolerate" contrasting shades of religious belief. If those who did the thing in question are allowed to have an idea on the subject, it was all something quite different.

We Marylanders who were the colony, were composed of Church of England men and Catholics; we came out to America on the understanding that there should be no quarrel about religion. That understanding was later translated into law when the desirable condition it produced led Evangelical nonconformists to ask admission to our colony in order to enjoy that condition. Once the Protestant Evangelical non-conformist body outweighed us Catholics, the whole basis of the colony was swept away and Catholic disability laws were introduced and enforced.

While I have not yet read Father Thorning's book, if he is correctly quoted there seems to be a touch of the usual disparagement of the Maryland experiment in it as well as in his reviewer's comment. To me that experiment seems to have gone as far as it could possibly go at the time. For believing members of the Church of England and of the Catholic Church to agree not to quarrel about religion, in 1634, was a very long step forward, and one which could not expect to have the full approval of church authorities on either side. It is, on the whole, about as far as we have gone today, for in America we still have as many Catholics, clerics and laymen who look askance at "fraternization" as we have Protestants of the same mind.

It seems to me that an important point to be considered is: Could an English Catholic ruler at that time grant "full and unrestricted religious liberty"? If he could not, but made an earnest effort to end religious hatred and warfare when to kill one's neighbor was almost part of religion, why should he be disparaged by any Christian and above all by Catholics? Why should he be compared with even a suspicion of disfavor with Roger Williams or anybody else?

Williams's own contemporaries suggest that not religious liberty but religious indifference was the essence of his experiment; "tolerance" might be understood in that sense. Calvert may or may not have been "tolerant" in that sense, but in all probability the Jesuits who accompanied him were not.

All we did in face of the custom of torturing and killing one's neighbor for the sake of religion was to agree among ourselves that we would not do it. The Catholics of Maryland believed whole-heartedly and sincerely in that way of living and still do. Others did not, and many Catholics today seem to share either the old Protestant belligerency of some of the colonies or the doctrine of "complete and unrestricted liberty in matters of religious belief."

This might be an opportune time to make the subject a little more clear in order to avoid its being injected once more into a presidential campaign.

What is religious liberty in the Catholic meaning? In what sense does the American system provide for religious liberty? Are the two things compatible?

As good a definition of the American attitude toward religion as I have ever heard was expressed by an American Secretary of State instructing an American Minister accredited to the Vatican Court how to explain it to the Pope: Over religion, government has no control whatever. And that describes fairly accurately the early Maryland Catholic attitude toward the subject.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

## WHAT IS CATHOLIC LEAKAGE?

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: The question of Catholic population and leakage has, for almost a year, occupied much space in the Catholic press, and as one greatly interested, the reading of each article brings to me the realization of the earnestness of these different writers. With the exception of the recent papers by Reverend Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., the other articles have been based on figures which in themselves are unsound, as will be readily seen in Father Shaughnessy's analysis of them. The criticism, however, which is being directed against all in charge of ecclesiastical statistics, rightly belongs on the shoulders of a few.

Let us consider the "Directory" figures for Catholic population. No physical count is made, but the figures given substantially represent reports received by the chancellor from the pastor of each church in that particular diocese. Necessarily, these figures are inaccurate, but in themselves give the best answer possible under the conditions. While this is the ordinary method of computing population among most of the dioceses, it is to be regretted that in the 1931 summary, the same figure was given for twenty-seven dioceses as in the previous year. This in itself supports the contention of many that Catholic population as given in "The Official Catholic Directory" is not accurate, an unfortunate fact which must be readily admitted. Pastors, however, for various reasons are prone to minimize the number of their adherents, and the figures published rather represent a conservative estimate. Through the recent close coöperation of religious statisticians of the different Christian faiths, it has been planned to petition Congress to include as part of the census to be taken in 1940, a question on religious affiliation, if any. It is believed that only in this manner will proper figures be ascertained, since such a census will reach not only the churchgoers, but also the floating population.

The statistics for converts have been an interesting feature in the controversy of population and leakage. Reports of converts received into the Church are not listed by all dioceses. A few chancellors report difficulty in procuring data from pastors, and it will be noticed that in a few cases this figure, when given, is identical with that in the previous issue.

In the edition now in press, I have noted thirteen dioceses

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reporting the same number of children attending the parochial schools, while seven have made no change in the statistics for baptisms.

A digest of these shortcomings justifies the statement that figures appearing in "The Official Catholic Directory" are inaccurate although I contend that they are probably approximately correct. No improvement can be made until a more concerted effort is launched on the part of those collecting such statistics. It is, however, unfair to include in the condemnation of "The Official Catholic Directory" data regarding personnel, Catholic churches, Catholic institutions, etc., which is authentic and as reliable as it is possible to be under the circumstances.

Those interested in this subject should read the two excellent articles by Reverend Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., appearing in the February and March issues of the *Ecclesiastical Review*. In his analysis, he shows many statistics printed in "The Official Catholic Directory" to be incorrect, but in doing so implies the real reason for this inaccuracy.

Meanwhile, let us hope that the controversy will have stirred up sufficient interest among certain of those in charge of the statistical data for the various dioceses to bring about more accuracy in the compilations, so that with proper ecclesiastical coöperation, more reliable statistics can be given in future.

FREDERICK B. EDDY, *Editor,*
*The Official Catholic Directory.*

## THE PROPRIETY OF PEACE

Baltimore, Md.

TO the Editor: I have read with great interest the editorial, "The Propriety of Peace," in THE COMMONWEAL of January 27, and I agree thoroughly with the thesis that European peace is bound up with the possibility of friendship between France and Germany.

The point which, in my mind, is the crux of the matter is, however, not mentioned in your editorial, and hardly ever elsewhere, perhaps because the responsibility of an editorial writer has to make him cautious. This point is that friendship is possible only between two partners who are, at least morally, considered equals. It seems to me that the official French attitude in questions of disarmament, reparations and so on must be unintelligible if the point I am going to make is not taken into account, but is a logical outcome of this viewpoint. And this viewpoint is that official France seems to consider Germany as a convicted criminal, a criminal who has, for reasons of expediency, been let out on parole—this parole, however, subjected to good behavior. It is even possible to show mercy to this criminal—but then it is a mercy where the criminal is expected to say "mea culpa" in accepting it, and the giver feels exceedingly generous in condescending to the criminal. One sees this viewpoint coming out very strongly in many of the articles of the Treaty of Versailles (war guilt question, reason for taking away the German colonies); it can also be seen in the quotation from Monseigneur Sagot du Vauroux, cited in your editorial.

This attitude, it seems to me, makes immediately clear the official French standpoint on security. To the objective onlooker it must seem illogical to say that France has a right to security, which is not yet sufficiently protected in spite of the fact that the French armaments are far beyond the German, while the German claim that it too feels insecure and has a right to security, which is endangered by the overwhelming superiority of the French, is never taken seriously. However, that is only the logical way to consider the matter if one thinks that there exist morally good and morally bad nations—the morally good ones, namely France, Poland and Czechoslovakia, can be safely trusted with any amount of weapons which they never would misuse, while the morally bad nations, namely Germany, would be dangerous as soon as an opportunity were given. It is exactly the same standpoint according to which the peaceable citizen thinks himself quite entitled to have a pistol in his house for protection while thinking it all right that the convicted criminal be deprived of weapons, because he is sure that he himself would never use this weapon other than for defense purposes, while the criminal would. It explains also the official French attitude in other points, where always the viewpoint of punishment of criminals is applied.

It seems to me that this is quite sufficient to explain the rise of nationalism in Germany. It is well known that even a real criminal out on parole will surely become desperate and relapse into crime if he is continuously treated as a criminal. If, however, he feels himself entirely innocent, as do the German people, the effects can be imagined.

The French are a proud people, and have a right to that—but so have others. And any nation, be it America, France or Germany, would rise in fury if treated in this way. As in the individual behavior of man, a correct intellectual attitude is the fundament of a correct practical attitude, so no economic treaty can be a substitute for a change in the state of mind expressed in most of the French public utterances.

KARL F. HERZFELD.

## ETHICAL ADVERTISING

Norwalk, Conn.

TO the Editor: On January 6, 1932, THE COMMONWEAL published a letter of mine wherein certain statements were made with reference to "Mercolized Wax." In your issue of February 17, Mr. M. W. Healy challenged these statements.

I sent both letters to Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. I have before me a response, dated February 16, from the Bureau of Investigation of the association. Excerpts pertinent to the question follow:

"Dr. Fishbein has referred your inquiry of February 12 to this bureau.

"We agree with what is apparently your view, that the advertising of products like 'Mercolized Wax' is a menace to the public welfare. Our records show that over a period of a good many years the official chemists of one state after another have reported that 'Mercolized Wax' contained ammoniated mercury, a powerful caustic poison. The latest test of this product of which we have record was one made in June, 1927, by our own chemists, who reported that the stuff still contained this dangerous ingredient. You will find mention of this in the enclosed article taken from the pamphlet, 'Cosmetic Nostrums.'"

The article mentioned in the last sentence reads:

"Mercolized Wax.—This is sold by the same concern that exploits Saxolite, and belongs to the 'prescription fake' type of nostrum. It is advertised 'to remove the thin veil of dead cuticle and leave the skin dry, clear and beautiful.' It was analyzed by the chemists of the Kansas State Board of Health who reported that it contained: ammoniated mercury, 10 percent; zinc oxide, 10 percent; ointment base (petrolatum and paraffin). The stuff is a caustic poison, and in the interest of the public safety the law should require that it be labeled as such ('Nostrums and Quackery,' Volume I, 1912). An examina-

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tion of a specimen of Mercolized Wax in June, 1927, again disclosed the presence of ammonia and mercury."

With reference to Mr. Healy's statement that the same ingredients used in his preparation are used by dermatologists, may I suggest that a drug may be safe in the hands of a physician and dangerous in the hands of an uninformed layman and that his advertisement was addressed to the layman?

Finally, I should like to inform Mr. Healy that I like freckles. I hope he has no luck in eliminating them.

DONALD POWELL.

## A MASONIC PROGRAM

Baltimore, Md.

TO the Editor: The letter of M. Gray in your issue for February 17 is interesting and a bit ominous, for THE COMMONWEAL printed the same program in an article of mine as long ago as August, 1925. Part of the comment was:

"Now a good deal of that program has little to do with education properly so called, and nothing to do with the old Sterling-Reed bill and its predecessors. Some of it (section 6) has been declared unconstitutional, and if one be possessed of undying love for constitutional government, under clause 7, he must needs lag in urging the principles of clause 6."

The article closed with this statement: ". . . there is no friend of civil liberty who will not strongly maintain that the only good educational bill is a dead educational bill, if it be tainted by the flavor of the Oregon law, the insidious policies of the Scottish Rite Masons and the policies of the National Education Association."

One thing is certain and that is that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. The National Education Association and the Scottish Rite have been working untiringly, and we who want to protect our Catholic schools must meet them and defeat them, in the future as in the past. The fight for the Catholic school is the fight of every Catholic man, woman and child in the United States.

MARK O. SHRIVER.

## WHAT IS WRONG?

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: How is it possible for THE COMMONWEAL to have published Ernest Sutherland Bates's approving review of Norman Thomas's Socialistic book, "America's Way Out"? Mr. Bates admits that Mr. Thomas's "ultimate goal . . . would be the abandonment of private ownership of all means of production and transportation, but this goal would not be sought until the successive steps toward it had justified themselves in practice." All economists agree that land and buildings are productive capital. This program would therefore involve the confiscation of all such property owned either by individuals or by corporations, including the Church. If Saint Thomas and all human experience are correct in saying that man takes better care of that which is his own than of that which belongs to another, then Mr. Thomas advocates folly. If Pope Leo XIII be correct in holding private property to be a natural right, then the "sincere" and "noble" Socialist (I quote your reviewer) advocates theft. When will theft "justify itself in practice"? Your reviewer cannot dodge the issue by citing the abuses of our present system. Does he or does he not agree with human experience, Saint Thomas and Pope Leo XIII? If he does, then why does he praise a book which goes directly against all three?

HOFFMAN NICKERSON.

# BOOKS

## The Great Puzzle

*The Paradox of Plenty, by Harper Leech. New York: Whittlesey House. $2.50.*

*The Riddle of Economics, by Elisha E. Garrison. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.*

ECONOMIC machinery is under universal inspection. Revealed as a mesh of wheels and pipes infinitely more complex than the philosophers had imagined, the huge producing-spending-accumulating contraption baffles even those who thought they knew how it worked. The hour for a literature of economics is at hand. Writing men frequently sigh in vain for a knowledge of the subject; economists are too frequently, if unconsciously, indifferent to the art of writing. But here are two books by men who should know flourishes as well as facts.

Mr. Leech has set down some of the most pertinent and stimulating reflections on our present situation which the present reviewer has encountered. He has likewise bathed this valuable wisdom with considerable lemonade. Which means that his volume, right and thoughtful at heart, is forever running off at tangents most of which are of doubtful importance and some of which are just plain hooey. If we attempt to extricate his argument and express it in a nutshell, the result will be something like this: the economic foundation of the present time is fossilized solar energy; this energy, entirely unlike the old supply stored each year in plants, expresses itself in a revolution of production; earnings are now dependent on kilowats, not on the labor of men and animals; it follows that wealth flows toward those who own the energy and not toward men and women who still depend on old-time, outmoded human labor; but this wealth, when unduly concentrated, engenders stagnation, which sets all industry back on idle haunches; and it is hard to tell—Mr. Leech does not profess to be the teller—how we shall improve either mechanism or conditions.

The rest of his book is devoted to demonstrating parts of this underlying argument and to exposing fallacies. One of the most effective sections is devoted to smashing the "doctrine of thrift"; another is expended on outlining the probable society of tomorrow, and at this point Mr. Leech links arms curiously enough with Herr Fried, the famed diagnostician of the German *Tatkreis*. Perhaps the most significant statement in the whole book is this: "The Golden Voodoo . . . preaches thrift, telling us that if we all save our money we will all grow rich, when, as a matter of fact, if we all saved we would be paupers." But I am afraid that the refutation is a bit too simple. The fact of the matter is that the great majority of men cannot save, and that the rich can do nothing else. Mr. Leech gets round the difficulty by saying that the buying power of the masses is "an absolute check and veto" on production, and that the maintenance of Dives's wealth depends upon conserving that buying power. All this is true. But is not "buying power" contingent in the last analysis upon widespread consciousness of reserves, to be drawn upon in case of need and to be accumulated only by saving? At any rate this is, in spite of much that a blue pencil might properly have eliminated, a bright, thoughtful and challenging book which the mildly Communistic in America may wrestle with as best they can.

Colonel Garrison's treatise is an endeavor to prove that unless the "circulating media of the nations shall be scientifically constituted, there can be no political peace or economic balance."

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Involved are what the author regards as mistaken conceptions of the media of exchange, and diverse proofs of the dependence of balance on sound money. Aristotle and Alexander Hamilton are credited with insight into the problem, while William Jennings Bryan is termed one who saw the truth in the wrong way. Colonel Garrison's definitions of money and banking are excellent; his remarks on other topics, though sometimes a little ultra-conservative, merit respect. What hurts is his seeming inability to keep near enough his point to make it.

In general his theory is that written into the original constitution of the Federal Reserve System, though this system has, according to our author, "more or less disregarded in its operation" essential principles. The real power behind sound money is not gold or governmental fiat, but dependable commercial credit. As a whole, "credit is used to effect so large a proportion of all exchange as to render the amount of money so used insignificant. Just as the reserve of gold behind sound money issue need be only large enough to redeem those small portions of money which at any one time call for redemption, so the total volume of sound money in existence at any one time need be relatively insignificant as compared with the total volume of credit at that time outstanding." But that money must have "character." Above all it must not be inflated and therefore necessarily idle, because this condition leads either to overextension of credit or to speculation. Consequently the volume and character of money must be "precisely regulated and scientifically sound." How this is to be accomplished is considered in connection with specific problems. One can learn a good deal from Colonel Garrison's book. Would only that it were a little more coherent and less difficult to read!

PAUL CROWLEY.

## His Majesty

*Every Inch a King, by H. R. H. Princess Pilar of Bavaria, and Major Desmond Chapman-Huston. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Incorporated. $5.00.*

DIFFERENT men have different notions of what it takes to make a king, and the opinions of the women on this subject are probably more divided than are those of the men.

Her Royal Highness, Princess Pilar of Bavaria, an artist by choice, has naturally her own notion of what it takes to make a man every inch a king, as she also has an inclination to find every kingly quality in her cousin, Alfonso XIII, with whom she has been so closely associated. Naturally enough, she does not include ability to govern a state as one of the attributes of kingship. Alfonso XIII, as he is portrayed so artistically in this book, is a very attractive gentleman of leisure who is not too deeply engrossed in the duties of family life to take practical interest in works of benevolence and of education.

The ingratitude of Spain in failing to support Alfonso fills this emotional princess with indignation. Her indictment of the Spanish nation is most interesting. It agrees with similar indictments made by men of very different political affiliations. It is well supported by evidence, it is analytical, makes interesting reading, and is probably as just as such an indictment could be.

The tragic events which immediately preceded the flight of Alfonso and of which Her Royal Highness was an eye-witness, are described in all their harrowing details, and with apparent scrupulous respect for the truth. The purpose of the authors of this book is not, however, to write history; this they admit. The book is "a study of Don Alfonso the monarch," and as the authors confess, they have not always found it easy to "de-

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# NEXT WEEK

THE FEDERATION OF LABOR: A DEFENSE, by John P. Frey, Secretary Treasurer of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, likens the federation in its struggle to improve the condition of the American workingman, to the Continental Army in its struggle for American liberty. The Continental Army was often defeated, there were jealousies and cabals in its ranks, and frequently a dangerous lack of enthusiasm for the ideals for which it was fighting, but in the end it prevailed. Mr. Frey points out that it was the federation which first called attention to the economic fact that the buying power of the American workman had not risen in proportion to the annual volume of wealth created by industry. He describes graphically the federation's struggles to change this situation which steadily and ruthlessly was pauperizing great numbers of citizens and threatening a general breakdown in our economic life through the segregation in a small group of not only all the means of production but also of the means of consumption. He pictures the forces that oppose the federation, the federation's position on the tariff and the facts of its accomplishments. Mr. Frey's article is an answer to Mr. Hirschfeld's "indictment" in the present issue; it is, however, more than this, a social document of the greatest importance in its own right. . . . THE POLISH CORRIDOR, by Augur, is a statement of the historical, ethnological and political position of the Poles on one of the most disputed points in Europe today. . . . . PAYING THE FIDDLER, by W. C. Murphy, jr., tells the staggering tale of where the taxpayers' money goes through government bureaus so that one out of every four persons gainfully employed is receiving government money. . . . . LAY THOMISTS, by Rev. Thomas M. Schwertner, O.P., considers the influence of the Angelic Doctor on modern intellectual leaders.

cide what should be taken, what ignored." Having ignored amazingly practically every fact related to the government of Spain, it is but proper to conclude that they decided these to be facts that should not "be taken" but ignored in a study of Alfonso the monarch.

When one compares this interesting picture of royal vanity with a book like "Alfonso XIII y Sus Complices" by Gonzalo de Reparaz, one realizes how far apart are the Princess Pilar and the leaders of Spain in their concept of what makes a man "every inch a king." The work of Her Royal Highness really does injustice to Alfonso. Personally I like best the picture which Alfonso painted of himself in an interview at Budapest last September when he said: "You ask about my plans? I have made no plans. I will live as a man who has lost his job. I am not thinking of returning to my throne. Immature attempts at restoration have always been abortive. They have never ended happily either for countries or for monarchs. If ever I do return, it will be because I can contribute something worth while, otherwise the delirium of joy at returning would quickly be turned to disillusion."

Meanwhile, revolutionary authorities are consolidating their position in Madrid. They have revamped the armed forces, and the very absence of any organized national force to oppose them, which is so satisfactorily analyzed in "Every Inch a King," leads me to believe that Alfonso may remain a long time out of a job, and to expect that in the end he may find opportunity to engage in something that is worth while elsewhere than on his former throne.

WILLIAM F. MONTAVON.

## Man and Creation

*Life in Nature, by James Hinton; edited with an Introduction by Havelock Ellis. New York: The Dial Press. $3.00.*

HAVELOCK ELLIS tells us that "Life in Nature" did guide at least one mind wandering disconsolately in a world made unlovely by mechanistic science, to the satisfaction of a spiritual vision. It is because he believes that the same thoughts will lead others out of a spiritually sterile materialism that he presents them once more, seventy years after the book first appeared. And it is quite true that "Life in Nature" will well repay time spent upon it, be the reader ever so little concerned with man's relation to creation and with the meaning of the universe.

The first five chapters are largely devoted to physiology. They build up a somewhat labored proof of the fundamental unity of the organic and the inorganic. Life is defined as a state of tension in which ordinary chemical affinities are resisted by some special means. Or again as "a peculiar mode of operation of the natural forces and laws." The existence of a vital force is denied. Many will disagree with this, of course, for there are vitalists and anti-vitalists in this day as there were in his. So far the book is disappointing. There are good passages, it is true. But the significance of the author's conception of the "force" or the "mode of operation" of forces which transform the non-living into the living—tantalizingly near his grasp—elude the reader still. Then, suddenly, the author reveals his meaning. He does not cut the Gordian Knot, he banishes it. How can the living be derived from the non-living, how can "any limiting, or directing, or adapting, make life to be where life was not?" The answer is that it cannot, for "either the material world is dead and life does not spring from it; or if life springs from it, then it is not dead." So what we perceive as inorganic nature must be truly living.

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Hinton is puzzzled by the implications of his thought. He recognizes that in the universality which he ascribes to life, the thing itself is lost. He needs must take one further step. Intellect and sense gave their apprehension of the material world and to this must now be added the testimony of the moral emotions. This leads to the philosophical concept which he calls "phenomenalism"—though it resembles more closely Berkeley's "immaterialism"—which perceives the organic and the inorganic as different appearances of the same universal "life," and nature itself as the particular "appearance" of the spiritual world.

That thought constitutes the substance of the book. All the rest leads up to or develops out of it. After all, it is only one way of visualizing the rôle that science plays in human thought, a way arrived at by a scientist who was a religious man. It is bravely put, however, for it took more courage to relegate science to a subordinate rôle in that day than in this. Science is older now and wiser. Then it was on the threshold of a sophomoric outburst. But there is something naive also in Hinton's whole-souled acceptance of a none too new philosophy.

There are many who will dissent completely from his view, but the important thing is this: Science, which paid scant attention to "Life in Nature" in 1862, knows now that it cannot apprehend the ultimate nature of matter and energy, that it cannot construct a model of the universe. It can merely describe it in terms of mathematical symbols, which only furnish the intellect with an imperfect concept of the mystery of reality.

The book should not be judged solely by the validity of its central philosophy. There are many illuminating passages, and many thoughtful arguments that penetrate the veil of appearance and stimulate the search for truth.

WILLIAM M. AGAR.

## Optimistic

*America's Tomorrow: An Informal Excursion into the Era of the Two-hour Working Day, by C. C. Furnas. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company. $2.00.*

WHILE the author does not fix the date of "America's Tomorrow," he seems to be pretty confident that when it does come it will bring with it certain great social changes which he regards with considerable complacency. An increase in labor-saving machinery which will reduce the working day to an hour or two, employment for all, a fair share of profits to labor and the disappearance of poverty, are among the eventualities.

The book is divided into four parts, dealing respectively with the physical sciences, the biological sciences, the social sciences and individuality. The author makes out a better case under the first two heads than under the last two, probably because he is a chemical engineer and therefore is more at home in science than in sociology or ethics. This fact is illustrated by his observations respectively on eugenics and birth control. He is very sceptical about the possibilities of producing a more desirable race through eugenics, but he dismisses the problem of a declining population resulting from birth control practices with the statement that we do not want an increase in population, since "most of the railroads are built; the coyotes are almost extinct and the Indians are really no longer a menace even in the country lying west of the Hudson River."

He does not favor public ownership of public utilities because he does not believe that government efficiency would equal that of private efficiency, which failed only once in five years to provide his household with electric light. Under government own-

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ership, he says, "we might have to sit in darkness while someone wrote to Washington for permission to turn on the new generator." This is superficial and flippant. He is complacent about domination by "America's benevolent capitalism," assuming not only that the capitalism of the future will always be benevolent but also that domination by any group of men is desirable, even though it be benevolent. He prefers the woman of today to the "Victorian lily-white lady" because the former is more sturdy and more beautiful and "raises children better, though she has fewer of them." What does he mean by "better" raising of children?

Toward the end of the book, his faith in a regimented, mechanical society with sufficiency of goods and leisure for everyone seems to falter when he writes: "Occupationally, it seems that most of us are doomed to become cogs in the vast machine. Will it be better so? Really I do not know, nor does anybody else. I only see the way we are traveling."

The book is entertainingly written and contains some shrewd observations, but it adds little to the sum of human knowledge and its ethical and social judgments are as often harmful as helpful. Perhaps its general spirit and trend are significantly indicated by the fact that the Foreword is contributed by that incorrigible optimist and apologist for the ideals of big business, Merle Thorpe.

JOHN A. RYAN.

## The Duke

*Wellington, by Philip Guedalla. New York: Harper and Brothers. $4.00.*

I KNOW now that the mild, dreamy face painted by Goya which I admired so much as a young collegian hid a philosophy the very opposite from mild. Toleration it had, of course, else there would have been either no good treatment of natives in India or no Catholic Emancipation. Wellington was mainly responsible for both. Yet there was a deep underlying, if enlightened, strain of Calvinism in him, though Mr. Guedalla never says as much. This was what attracted Carlyle. Curt, gruff, extremely ambitious (and often denying his ambition), punctilious, honest, austere, aristocratic and Tory to the bone, the hero of the Peninsular War and Waterloo invariably came off victorious in what he undertook here below. Amiably, casually, with some circumlocution and not a few literary tricks, Mr. Guedalla has written a sprightly biography of the duke, most of whose virtues seem so different from those of his biographer. The post-Waterloo career is fully treated.

Is not sparkle the best manner for Wellington? Perhaps. It is certainly modern. And it doesn't, in this case, sugar a pill of cynicism, for Guedalla has a genuine concern and admiration for his subject. The book, like its subject, has glamor, and patterns (or, should you deplore them, "tricks") recur in it as they do in movements of a symphony. In this sense the author's production is artistic.

How accurate it is, with all its textually undisturbing documentation, is another matter. I will not press the question. Suffice that the book, despite too brief a treatment of Waterloo, *is* readable. Wellington's lineaments—those of a reserved, laconic, detail-loving military administrator, whose successes, once he proved his hand in India, Portugal and Spain, were phenomenal—are all there. Besides, he was wise. Witness his opinion (page 350) of Constitutional Portugal. It would do for 1931 Spain!

JAMES W. LANE.

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## Briefer Mention

*The English Mediaeval Feast, by William E. Mead. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $5.00.*

WHAT and how did our mediaeval ancestors eat? Few attempts have been made to answer this query in detail. Mr. Mead confines himself to the records of wining and dining in the houses of the wealthy during the late middle ages. His compilation of facts is studious, his inferences are generally trustworthy. There emerges a picture of gigantic feasts, whereat every available variety of meat was embedded in sauces and spices galore. One rather fears that most of the recipes would give even robust moderns a stomach ache, and in the matter of appetite we lag far behind the ancient Duke of York. Even in those days French cuisine was standard, however, and people made efforts to keep viands in good condition. Among the better-known mediaeval drinks was hippocras, "compounded of wine, red or white, ginger, cinnamon, grains of pomegranate, sugar and turesole." Even poorer folk added ginger and honey. The interesting thing is that the condiments cost more than the wine. Mr. Mead's book is rich in lore of this kind, is well illustrated and adds an interesting morsel to historical knowledge.

*Songs before the Blessed Sacrament, by Mary Dixon Thayer. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.00.*

THIS is a book of extraordinarily beautiful poems and one that can be recommended to every reader. The Catholic will be stirred by its fine piety, and with the non-Catholic will find it delicately and surely executed verse that soars sometimes with the pure treble of bird song and sometimes with the modulated strains of a symphonieta to heights of spiritual exaltation. Though it is not exactly apropos of the quality of her verse, there is some sort of human satisfaction in the fact that the very spiritual writer is also a crack tennis player, a former holder of the woman's championship of Pennsylvania and Eastern United States and of national tennis ranking. One frequently encounters the idea outside the Faith that sanctity and something verging on neurasthenia go hand in hand. It is therefore difficult to resist dwelling on so shining an example as the present poet that, although piety of course may be the refuge for those who are heavily burdened, it is also a sign of vitality. The same may also be said of true poetry.

*Muscling In, by Fred D. Pasley. New York: Ives Washburn. $2.00.*

FROM his biography of Al Capone Mr. Pasley has turned his journalistic pen to a discussion of racketeering as a major industry. His new book, which purports to be a study of the extent and seriousness of America's most profitable form of crime, with a glance to the future, is merely a hodge-podge of carelessly written newspaper articles, of the tabloid variety, strung together without union or order. Since it names names, it is possibly daring; since it deals with the career of so recently notorious a figure as "Legs" Diamond, it has the requirements of popularity. But as a serious study of a great problem it deserves to be scored on the ground of hypocrisy. It is in no wise national in scope; it is filled with alleged facts which would demand the existence of an omnipresent eyewitness; it avoids conclusions, save those that are exclamatory. All constructive or incisive criticism appears only in a final chapter, which is an anthology of quotations from jurists and magazine article writers. "Muscling In" is a series of alarmist headlines, followed by empty leads. Reporters should stay out of sociology.

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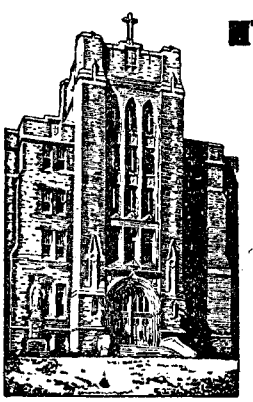
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*Goethe: Man and Poet, by Henry W. Nevinson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.*

THE GOETHE centenary is at hand, and Mr. Nevinson comes alertly to the fore with a suitable book. This is a relatively brief tome of some two hundred and fifty pages neatly allotted to biography, exposition and appraisal. Naturally it is hard to offer, in such compass, more than a well-written substitute for an encyclopaedia article. Mr. Nevinson composes judiciously and without affectation. Having constantly borne in mind that his readers are probably without more knowledge of Goethe than they possess of astronomy or Hippocrates, he sets forth just those things regarding which they particularly need information. Goethe's career, with its journeys and several loves, is deftly sketched; some effort is made—by no means adequately—to state the main conclusions of his philosophy; the dramas are virtually squeezed into the single "Faust"; and the whole subject of Goethe's lyric and language-creative energy is compressed into a few unsatisfactory paragraphs. Yet it would be unfair to dismiss the volume as "just another publication." On the whole, it is an estimable introduction to a theme which a lifetime of study could hardly exhaust, and which merits at least an hour's attention from the most distracted amongst us. Mr. Nevinson has long since been an earnest student of German letters.

*Magazine Article Readings; edited by Ernest Brennecke, jr., and Donald Lemen Clark. New York: The Macmillan Company. $3.50.*

CIRCUMSTANCES have precluded our noticing this excellent anthology for student use, published some months ago. Messrs. Brennecke and Clark have made a judicious selection of magazine articles of all kinds, from longer papers to relatively brief notes. The classification of the material is admirable; the uses to which it is subordinated bespeak direct contact with actual writing performance. A feature is the introduction of notes, by various authors, concerning the genesis and sale of their work. This is easily the best volume of its kind and merits the attention of all instructors and students. We are, of course, pleased to note that THE COMMONWEAL is several times represented.

## CONTRIBUTORS

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